

# The Social Studies

VOLUME XL, NUMBER 2

*Continuing The Historical Outlook*

FEBRUARY, 1949

ARTHUR C. BINING, *Editor*

A. E. MCKINLEY, JR., *Managing Editor*

LEONARD B. IRWIN, *Assistant Editor*

DAVID W. HARR, *Book Review Editor*

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN, *Pamphlet Editor*

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER, *Visual Aids Editor*

## EDITORIAL BOARD

ETHEL M. ANDERSON  
*West Texas State Teachers  
College  
Canyon, Tex.*

BESS HEDGES  
*College High School  
Bartlesville, Okla.*

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH  
*University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pa.*

EDWIN M. PURINTON  
*Maine Central Institute  
Pittsfield, Me.*

ELIAN ARONSON  
*Grand Park High School  
New York, N. Y.*

HOMER T. KNIGHT  
*Teachers College,  
Columbia University  
New York, N. Y.*

ROY F. NICHOLS  
*University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pa.*

CHARLES E. VARNEY  
*Superintendent of Schools  
Stoneham, Mass.*

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER  
*Brookham Junior-Senior  
High School  
Mount Vernon, N. Y.*

DANIEL C. KNOWLTON  
*Cazenovia Junior College  
Cazenovia, N. Y.*

CHARLOTTE M. NOTEBOOM  
*University of South Dakota  
Vermilion, S. D.*

HERBERT WING, JR.  
*Dickinson, College  
Carlisle, Pa.*

MRS. J. FLYNN  
*Fordham University  
New York, N. Y.*

THOMAS WOODY  
*University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pa.*

## Contents

Thoreau and Marx: A Century After	R. N. Stromberg	53
Switzerland's Political Institutions	Fred Dossenbach	57
Teaching the Social Studies in Units by the Laboratory Method	J. W. Baldwin	58
The Birth of a Nation: Brazil	Geraldine O'Rourke	63
The Teacher of Social Studies: A Reappraisal	Charles W. Heathcote	67
The Presidential Tenure Amendment	Lester H. Phillips	70
Taxation	John Barr	72
News and Comment	Leonard B. Irwin	80
Book Reviews and Book Notes	David W. Harr	83
Current Publications Received		96

THE SOCIAL STUDIES does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in articles, reviews, and other contributions which appear in its pages. It provides opportunities for publication of materials which may represent divergent ideas, judgments and opinions.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 809-811 North 19th Street, Philadelphia 30, Pa.  
Subscription \$2.50 a year, single numbers 35 cents a copy.

Published monthly, from October to May inclusive, by McKinley Publishing Co., 809-811 North 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Copyright, 1949, McKinley Publishing Co. Entered as second-class matter, October 26, 1909, at Post Office at Philadelphia, Pa., under Act of March 3, 1879.

# McKINLEY DESK OUTLINE MAPS

## Sizes and Prices of Desk Outline Maps

aa—size 15 x 20 ins. \$3.25 per hundred	b—size 7½ x 10 ins. \$.80 per hundred
a—size 10 x 15 ins. \$1.60 per hundred	c—size 5½ x 7½ ins. \$.60 per hundred

### Carriage Extra

## ANCIENT HISTORY

Athens .....	143bc	Italy .....	132abc
Egypt .....	140bc	Italy, Central .....	133b
Europe .....	101ab	Mediterranean World .....	113abc
Europe, Central & Southern .....	111ab	Palestine .....	138abc
Eastern World .....	135abc	Roman Empire .....	134ab, 136ab
Greece .....	131b	Rome .....	142bc
Greece & Aegean .....	130abc		
India .....	148ab		

## COLLEGE ENTRANCE MAPS

Ancient History .....	20aa
-----------------------	------

## MEDIEVAL & MODERN HISTORY

Austro-Hungary in 1914 .....	126b	France, Netherlands & England .....	124 abc
Balkan Region .....	93ab	Germany in 1914 .....	125c
Baltic Lands .....	114ab	Germany in 1914 & 1920 .....	125ab
British Isles .....	120abc	Japan & Eastern China .....	149ab
Eastern World .....	135abc	China .....	150ab
England .....	121abc	Mediterranean World .....	113abc
Europe (bds. of 1921) .....	72ab, 82abc	Russia in 1914 .....	127ab
Europe (bds. of 1914) .....	89abc, 101b	Spain .....	128bc
Europe (no bds.) .....	99ab, 22aa, 101a	World, Elliptical (bds.) .....	27aa, 70ab
Europe, Central (bds. of 1914) .....	112a	World, Mercator (no bds.) .....	28aa, 71ab, 81abc, 100ab
Europe, Central (no bds.) .....	21aa, 112b	World, Divided at 60° East .....	
Europe, Central & Southern in 1914 .....	111ac	Longitude (no bds.) .....	108ab
Europe, Central & Southern (no bds.) .....	111b		
Europe, Southeast & East Mediter- ranean .....	115abc		

## COLLEGE ENTRANCE MAPS

European & English History .....	18aa
----------------------------------	------

## AMERICAN HISTORY

Central America & Mexico (bds.) .....	170ab	Southern States .....	184b, 188abc
Eastern United States (bds.) .....		South Atlantic Colonies .....	189b
.....	177abc, 196ab	South America (bds.) .....	76ab, 86abc, 105ab
Europe in 1921 .....	72ab, 82abc	Southwestern United States (no bds.) .....	171b
Middle Atlantic States .....	183b, 187abc	United States (bds.) .....	29aa, 78ab, 175abc, 176abc
Middle Atlantic Colonies .....	195b	United States (no bds.) .....	88abc
Mississippi Valley .....	178abc	West Indies & Mexico (no bds.) .....	172ab
New England States .....	182b, 185abc	World Elliptical (bds.) .....	27aa, 70ab
New England Colonies .....	186b	World, Mercator (no bds.) .....	28aa, 71ab, 81abc, 100ab
North America (National bds.) .....		World, Divided at 60° East Longitude (no bds.) .....	108ab
.....	75ab, 85abc, 104ab		
North America (State & Province bds.) .....	25aa, 79a		
Pacific Coast .....	179abc, 180b		
Pacific Ocean .....	107ab		
Philippine Islands .....	266bc		

## COLLEGE ENTRANCE MAPS

American History, United States & Cen- tral America .....	19aa
--	------

Write for Complete Catalog and Samples

McKINLEY PUBLISHING COMPANY

809-811 North 19th Street

Philadelphia 30, Pa.

Just Out . . . Third Edition of a Successful Text . . .

Completely Reorganized . . . Up - to - Date

## AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

By CARL A. DAWSON, *McGill University*; and WARNER E. GETTYS, *University of Texas*

**T**HIS THIRD EDITION, largely rewritten, reflects in text and in research documentation the many important developments in sociology during this past decade. The reorganization of the book's material is noteworthy in making the text even more understandable to the student and consequently more teachable in the hands of the instructor. The authors' use of much illuminating documentary material gives considerable first-hand acquaintance with the research activities of many specialized social scientists.

In the short time since its publication, *AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY* has received enthusiastic comments from teachers of sociology throughout the country. Professor W. C. Waterman of Brooklyn College says, "*It represents a real improvement over earlier editions. . . . It impresses me as being a really superior book.*"

764 pages \$5.00

A Text Gaining Wide Popularity . . .

## SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

By ROBERT E. L. FARIS, *University of Washington*

**T**HE MANY FORMS in which disorganization manifests itself—family, political, neighborhood, religious, economic—are carefully analyzed and detailed applications are given of general principles stated in the introductory chapters. Alfred McClung Lee, professor of sociology at Wayne University, says, "*Faris' book is a distinguished text . . . that will find a large audience. I especially like the many intimate descriptions of problem situations it provides. Students should like it very much.*"

481 pages \$4.50

Discusses and Offers Solutions for Major Problems . . .

## AMERICAN RURAL LIFE—A Textbook in Sociology

By DAVID E. LINDSTROM, *University of Illinois*

**T**HIS TEXT for students and professional workers in rural sociology provides a comprehensive survey of modern American rural life. Presented in national as well as regional settings, the problems which our increasingly complex civilization imposes on rural life are discussed in detail and related to the general sociology of our country. Professor Carle C. Zimmerman of Harvard University commented that *AMERICAN RURAL LIFE* is, ". . . a very excellent job. It ought to win wide use as an elementary text."

385 pages \$4.00

Stimulates Constructive Thinking in Terms of Current Ideas . . .

## RACE AND NATIONALITY—As Factors in American Life

By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, *New York University*

**A** DISCUSSION of race and nationality and problems with world origins as a background. Particular emphasis is placed on their effect in the American way of life. "*No more judicious and authoritative statement of the case for understanding and tolerance with respect to racial problems and minority groups has ever been published.*"—Harry Elmer Barnes.

216 pages \$3.00

THE RONALD PRESS COMPANY, 15 East 26th Street, New York 10



## Today's Teaching Films

by

# Coronet

CORONET FILMS . . . the most modern product of a modern teaching science. The largest and most complete library of *new* instructional films in color, motion, and sound, for every one of the many Coronet titles has been produced or revised within the past short three years.

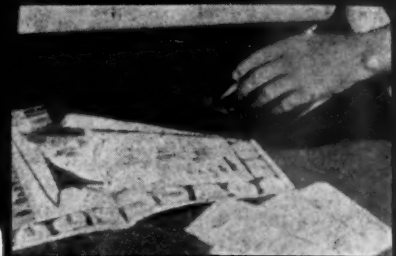
Modern in their academic approach, up-to-the-minute in production technique and subject timeliness, these are *the* films for *your* visual education program! Little wonder that CORONET FILMS are the first choice of America's modern schools, for each of these many films, covering every grade and subject, is produced under the constant and invaluable guidance of *both* outstanding subject matter specialists and experienced active classroom teachers . . . guaranteeing both the authenticity and teaching appeal of these famous films.

And here, today, are five more CORONET FILMS, just released for today's classrooms. For information on their preview, purchase, or rental, or for a complete catalog of the Coronet Library, write to:

## Coronet Films

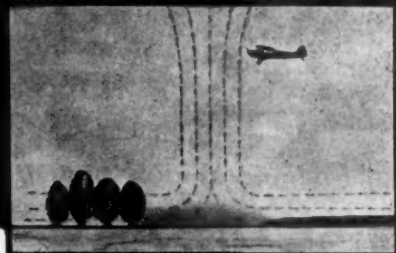
CORONET BUILDING • CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

### Algebra in Everyday Life



R. Orin Cornett, Ph.D.,  
Oklahoma Baptist University

### Winds and Their Causes



Walter A. Thurber, Ph.D.,  
New York State Teachers College

### Energy in Our Rivers



Thomas F. Barton, Ph.D.,  
Southern Illinois Normal School

### How to be Well Groomed



Mary E. Weathersby,  
Mississippi State College

### Pioneer Home



Viola Theman, Ph.D.,  
Northwestern University



# The Social Studies

VOLUME XL, NUMBER 2

FEBRUARY, 1949

## Thoreau and Marx: A Century After

R. N. STROMBERG

*University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland*

In the October, 1863, issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Henry Thoreau's essay, "Life without Principle," written about the middle of the nineteenth century, was printed for the first time. In it, the dour little man, who was the greatest critic of her values that America has produced, made his severest criticism. It might be called Thoreau's "Manifesto," or could we say, "The Individualist Manifesto"? There is here none of that gentle love of nature which tempered the social criticism of *Walden*; neither is there any of that ultimate optimism which shines through *Walden's* strictures on American values, and led *Walden's* hermit to end his book on a note of faith. In "Life without Principle," Thoreau simply peeled off the gloves and laid about him. This uninhibited criticism was meant to serve a constructive purpose, and it is something our modern civilization ought to value and preserve. And so it has: Thoreau is quite as alive today as Marx, perhaps more so.

In our time, the valuable art of moral criticism has been all but lost. It is almost safe to say that not since Henry Mencken and George Nathan vowed never to drink with a "moral" man has an American writer appeared willing to run the risk of being classed with the clergymen. (Philip Wylie would be a rare exception.) The intellectuals have taken up Freudianism, Marxism, Estheticism, and Existentialism; it appears that the last thing they are likely to adopt is moralism. Yet there remains the paradoxical fact that Thoreau is today very popular. Even as this was written, another book about him appeared (by Joseph Wood Krutch). Thoreau is studied, he is read, he is admired; he is not, however, imitated, unless we are will-

ing to make some sort of an exception of the whimsical E. B. White. And there we confront the further paradox of a Thoreau disciple—Thoreau the preacher of rural simplicity—writing for the ultra-sophisticated *New Yorker*. *Walden* has become almost the American classic, yet, for all that we can see, the least likely of all future American books is another *Walden*.

What are the reasons for Thoreau's persistence, then? First of all, of course, his style. Its pungency, pithiness, raciness, its "bite" and its sourness, suit the modern mood peculiarly well. He is read today much more than Emerson, the classic sage, in whose vast shadow Thoreau once seemed to crouch as no more than a minor disciple. The reason is, surely, that Emerson's "sweetness and light" fail to stimulate our jaded modern palates, and his abstractness does not suit an empirical age weary of metaphysics. Thoreau was a great prose writer, and if we compare his essay with that of Marx and Engels from a stylistic point of view, the bombastic jargon of the latter comes off very poorly indeed.

In the second place, Thoreau has appealed to many as the apostle of simplicity. He has actually sent many hundreds of good people "to the woods" in search of tranquillity. These people are fleeing automobiles, radios, street cars, juke boxes, riveting machines and—in a symbolic sense at least—atom bombs. They are in flight from the Machine, and in search of the roots of life. To them, Thoreau means integrity, and getting back to the basic things of life. It is an individual solution these people seek, and they are not worrying much about society, or other people's morals.

Still, there is more yet to Thoreau's appeal. He was a social critic. To be sure, he was the arch-individualist, as everyone knows, and if there was any breed of man he affected to despise above all others, it was the reformers. But one cannot well escape the conclusion that Thoreau—and Emerson—actually did desire reform, above all else. It was only that they were convinced that reform must come individually and from within—so convinced that they went the limit in maintaining that no man may preach to another. And yet, at the same time, preach they did! How passionately they desired the moral improvement of an America whose slovenly behavior, betraying a great promise, so sickened them! Every line betrays a gigantic concern with the health of American society; nevertheless, their philosophy and their instincts warned them to beware the technique of outer exhortation rather than inner integrity. This could lead them to strange dilemmas. What was Henry Thoreau to do when his inner soul told him to lecture his neighbors on their iniquity? Thoreau preached—with an apology. "I do not wish to force my thoughts upon you," he began his famous plea for John Brown, "but I feel forced myself." And in a sense, this statement might stand for the whole of his literary output.

Despite his error in holding that society was nothing and the individual everything, though it may be a wholesome corrective to the opposite and infinitely more fatal error, Thoreau's "social consciousness" was really very strong and deep. If he was misled into believing that society is only the sum of the individuals in it, he did not for that reason worry any the less about mankind. He and Emerson thrilled in a very poignant way to the "American Dream." The key to that dream was Freedom, not that miserable counterfeit of freedom which, as the vulgar viewed it, was simply the right to lay up money, but a spiritual freedom which unloosed men for attainment of new heights of the soul.

That men with such a glorious, unprecedented opportunity should misuse their freedom in pursuit of ignoble ends filled Thoreau with a chafing anger. And so he burst out in rage at the obtuseness of his fellow citizens, who would not be free but persisted in re-enslaving

themselves to Mammon. Thus it is, that we look upon Thoreau as something more than a splendid nature-writer, or as an advocate of individual integrity. He was also—and quite fundamentally—akin to the prophets Amos and Jeremiah: he was a critic of society.

To return to Thoreau's "manifesto": though posthumously published in 1863, it was apparently written in 1854. Undoubtedly it had been thought through during those months of solitude at Walden Pond. It is contemporaneous with that other manifesto of 1848. Thoreau at Walden, paying occasional visits to the Harvard library clad in his rough clothes, is a figure to be set against the impoverished German Jew going from his poor flat to the British Museum. Both Thoreau and Marx used those books most critically, but used their own eyes much more. Not two books in a thousand are worth reading, said Thoreau, as he gleaned a line or two here and there from the long shelves, turning for the rest to contemplate nature and the neighboring farmers. Similarly did Marx imperiously dismiss 99 per cent of what passed for human wisdom, and found his real food in working-people's lives and the facts of the new industrialism. Both were essentially moralists, though both would probably have denied it. What first struck Marx about capitalism was its sinfulness; he is readable today only in those passages of indignation where (perhaps echoing Carlyle), he describes the agonies of a man-consuming system and calls down on it the wrath of a disguised Providence. Both he and Thoreau began by remarking what a monstrous thing was this society in which men were wholly consumed by greed.

But Marx quickly proceeded to sterilize his moralism by plunging it into a bath of "scientific" materialism. The remedy for an evil society he found not in individual moral effort, as we know. His solution sounded more sophisticated, but turned out to be only sophistical. Marx showed his deep affinities with the eighteenth century, which Thoreau had gone beyond in holding that all the evil is really in social institutions, man himself being basically good and needing only to be relieved of the burden of an irrational social framework. Such an outlook turns the human problem into one of engineering, not morality. Like the *philosophes*

of the Age of Reason, Marx was willing to sanction dictatorship in order to reach the desired goal. He went even further when he declared that this end justifies almost any means, even those which all men heretofore had accounted immoral. Here we enter an utterly blind alley, full of tragic consequences for humanity. Marxian Socialism was not without moral content: it embodied a sound criticism of greed and selfishness, of "man's inhumanity to man." But that which was most original and distinctive about it, its solution, its positive element, was marred by a basic error which ultimately led to pure Caesarism, and destroyed all its value as moral criticism. That error was the supposition that only institutions matter, that society is all.

Just because its indictment of existing conditions struck the mark and because its solution was so seductively simple, this new dogma announced in Marx's spectacular style attracted millions. Quite in contrast, that quieter manifesto of Concord's queer surveyor-naturalist reached few, until with the passing of many years a slow spreading of ripples from its negligible splash could be observed. Was its message any more hopeful?

"Life without Principle" and "The Communist Manifesto," laid side by side, show a few similarities, but in most things they are as unlike as Manchester and Concord. The styles, of course, are strikingly different: Thoreau's voice is that of the poet, Marx's that of the stump-speaker.

"Let us consider the way in which we spend our lives," said Henry Thoreau. (A good part of the Communist Manifesto is taken up in considering, though in an abstract-rhetorical way that contrasts unfavorably with Thoreau's vivid personal picture, how men are spending their lives under "capitalism.")

The abstract word "capitalism" does not appear in Thoreau, but he had in mind, unmistakably, the values of a business civilization. "This world is a place of business. What an infinite bustle. . . . There is no sabbath. . . . I think there is nothing, not even crime, more opposed to poetry, to philosophy, ay, to life itself, than this incessant business." Where the market rules, he says, art and good workmanship are degraded. "You are paid for being something

less than a man. . . . They would prefer that I should do my work coarsely and not too well, ay, not well enough." (Marx wrote that "The bourgeoisie has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It . . . has left no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest. . . . It has resolved personal worth into exchange value. . . . The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe." The workman no longer delights in his work; "he becomes an appendage of the machine. . . .")

Thoreau dwelt on commerce: "A commerce that whitens every sea in quest of nuts and raisins, and makes slaves of its sailors for this purpose! . . . there are those . . . who are so blind as to think that progress and civilization depend on precisely this kind of interchange and activity—the activity of flies about a molasses-hogshead." He remarked sardonically on the sending of an agent to Africa by our government to stir up "artificial wants" among the natives. (Marx also noticed that: "It [the ubiquitous 'bourgeoisie'] compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst. . . ." Marx had a good deal more to say about commerce, but he does not appear to think like Thoreau that it is evil. He only regrets that it is controlled by his black beast, the "bourgeoisie.")

Throughout the essay—it is his theme—Thoreau places the individual person as he might and ought to live against this "place of business" world which is "work, work, work," in which men, in frantic search for nuggets of gold, trample not so much on each other as on their own souls. In such a world there is no place or time for serious thoughts or a deep emotion. Life is shallow: "surface meets surface." The mind's food is gossip, newspaper triviality, and politics. The word "politics" sends Thoreau into a rage: "What is called politics is comparatively something so superficial and inhuman, that practically I have never fairly recognized that it concerns me at all." In this world Thoreau looks in vain for men—"not slaves, nor operatives, but men—those rare fruits called heroes, saints, poets, philosophers, and redeemers." Preoccupation with the baser



things of life has destroyed the soul. "We quarter our gross bodies on our poor souls, till the former eat up all the latter's substance."

*The Communist Manifesto* holds that men are to be reckoned not as individuals but as members of "classes." It does not pass judgment on the machine and factory as such, but foretells a day when there will be just as many, if not more of these things, except under control of "proletariat" rather than "bourgeoisie." Where Thoreau implies the need for simplicity, Marx preaches the super-machine-age. There is no concern in the latter for the "soul" of man, only for his means of livelihood. Marx rejoiced that "capitalism" had brought men together in great cities, and spoke of "the idiocy of rural life." He would think Concord a home for idiots, while Thoreau would think Manchester, the factory-town, a place for soulless robots. Marx would have sneered at the idea of a return to "simplicity"; Thoreau found the vision of a collectivist Utopia based on the machine entirely inadequate, as he makes clear in his criticism of Fourierism. Here we reach an absolute contrast.

\* \* \* \*

We can imagine Thoreau leveling some keen criticisms at the authors of *The Communist Manifesto*. They had begun, as he began, by protesting against the degrading, de-humanizing, demoralizing effect of a "business" civilization. But how has their solution affected this? They would keep the factories, and change only the ownership of them. What reason to expect that the souls of men would improve as a result of this technical operation? Would the worker be any less a robot working in a state-owned factory? The state of men in Soviet Russia today would seem to support that criticism. What has really disillusioned us about Russia is its failure to produce the hoped-for breed of better men. Selfishness, banality, and soullessness are found to have increased, if anything. And if Russia today is a ludicrous parody of Marx's dreams, which he would probably reject indignantly were he alive, he still cannot escape responsibility for having fathered it:

it is only the practical consequence of his errors. In pinning his faith on a social system and forgetting the individual, he made inevitable the dread totalitarianism which crushes the life of the soul.

In turn Marx would have concentrated his criticism on the impracticality of Thoreau's answer—a judgment posterity has also in a measure vindicated. Scrap our machines and return to pastoral simplicity? No, we have commerce and industrialism with us, for weal or woe; we must confront the machine, not flee from it. Concord was a charming place, much nicer than Pittsburgh despite Marx; but in discerning an implacable law which decreed the extinction of Concord and the elevation of Pittsburgh, Marx was mostly right. However, this was hardly the whole of Thoreau's message. That men must make a living he did not dispute; he only protested against making it the whole of life. "Things," as Emerson put it, must not "ride mankind." Marx at times seemed to feel the same thing: in his socialist Utopia, the machine would supposedly be man's servant and not his master, leaving him freer to develop his intellectual and spiritual capacities. But Marx left absolutely no suggestions as to how this might come about, in his utter preoccupation with social change alone. Thoreau abounds in suggestions.

He who reads "Life without Principle," unlike the reader of *The Communist Manifesto*, will emerge spiritually refreshed and with, perchance, a philosophy of life. He will have learned the value of integrity and dignity, and will know how much more worth there is in a grain of wisdom than a grain of gold. He will henceforth refuse to insult his mind with trivialities, but will strive to "elevate his aim." He will have learned the valuable lesson that political freedom has no value "but as a means to moral freedom." Thoreau was not much of a prophet, literally speaking, or as we commonly interpret the word today, meaning one who reads the future. But he was a prophet in the truer sense: to the ancients, a prophet was simply a poet, or one who speaks with the tongue of an angel, refreshing the spirit and clearing the mind.



# Switzerland's Political Institutions

FRED DOSSENBACH

*Official Information Bureau of Switzerland, New York City*

The mountain republic of Switzerland is no longer regarded in the United States as just a scenic playland. Quite the contrary, for Switzerland's political and economic influence is regarded today as a vital factor in the success of the foreign policy of the United States in Europe.

Perhaps no other country has political institutions so like those of the United States. The writings of Hamilton, Jay and Madison in the *Federalist* made a profound impression on Swiss statesmen at the end of the eighteenth century. And in 1848, the Swiss used the American Constitution as a guide in setting up a bicameral system in their federal Parliament. The National Council in Switzerland represents the whole people, as does the United States House of Representatives; while the Council of States is composed of delegates from the twenty-two cantons, and is similar to the United States Senate. Both nations are democratic republics. Both are federal states. And both have constantly extended popular rights.

At the same time, there are some variations. These are to be expected, for Switzerland is a much smaller country than the United States, a country with four different language groups and a devotion to traditions that go back to 1291 when the first three "forest" cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden formed the Perpetual Alliance.

Distinctively Swiss is the referendum and the right of popular initiative. First mention of the legislative referendum is found in the 1831 Constitution of the Canton of St. Gall, while the right of constitutional initiative was recognized by the Swiss Constitution of 1848. The Canton of Vaud also introduced the right of legislative initiative in 1845, but this has never been recognized by Swiss federal law.

The referendum is the right of the Swiss people to decide whether a law will be enacted or rejected. It is considered a "compulsory referendum" when the people must necessarily be consulted on all laws framed and adopted

by their representatives in Parliament. The referendum is said to be "optional" when it takes place only at the request of a certain number of citizens. When the citizens vote for or against amendments or changes in the Constitution itself the referendum is considered "constitutional." Finally, the "legislative referendum" applies to laws, provided for by all cantons except Unterwalden and Appenzell. In these two cantons, the people exercise their legislative power directly in the *Landsgemeinden* "open-air" meetings, where elections and legislation are determined by a show of hands, just as for hundreds of years past.

The right of popular initiative allows the Swiss to demand their representatives to draft, modify or repeal a law. Like the referendum, the initiative can be both legislative and constitutional, depending on whether it refers to laws, or provisions in the federal or cantonal constitutions. A minimum number of citizens must petition in order to exercise this right. In cantonal questions, the number varies from 800 in Zug to 12,000 in Berne. Again, the people of Unterwalden and Appenzell exercise this right directly as voting members of the legislative power.

In federal matters, the Swiss people have no legislative initiative and cannot directly provoke the adoption, repeal or amendment of a law by the federal government.

Constitutional initiative, on the other hand, is a right given to the people by both the Confederation and all cantons. In cantonal questions, the number of citizens required for petitions vary from 1,000 in the canton of Zug, to 15,000 in Berne.

At least 50,000 Swiss citizens must petition, with signatures collected within a period of six months, for either total or partial amendment of the federal constitution. These petitions may be made either in the form of a proposal requesting partial amendment in a general proposal, or in the form of a definite draft.

In the first case, the two Houses (National Council and Council of States) vote on the general proposal. If it has their approval, they carry out the partial amendment and submit their draft to the people and cantons. If the two Houses do not subscribe to it, the petition itself is put to popular vote, and if it is adopted, the federal Assembly follows through on the amendment. This must be approved once again by general popular vote.

In the second case, when the popular initiative takes the form of a definite draft, this is submitted at once to the people if it meets with the acceptance of either or both Houses. If both Houses are against the draft, they can either advise the people against the initiative or draw up a counter-proposal and put it to popular vote. All cantons, as well as the federal Assembly and the Council also have the right of constitutional initiative.

While in some cases, the right of initiative has not always been judiciously used, it has also proved its value in worthwhile measures. Proportional representation in federal legislation is one example; another, that international treaties may be submitted to referendum.

Supreme judicial power in Switzerland is vested in a federal Tribunal, but it does not have the power the United States Supreme Court has in examining the constitutionality of federal laws. The Swiss feel that the people have the power to accept laws either positively through their right of referendum, or tacitly by not demanding a referendum. Legal tradition in Switzerland has also tended to divorce the judiciary as much as possible from the legislative bodies.

The major difference between the United States and Swiss governments lies in the organization of the executive power. Instead of a single President, Switzerland has its executive power vested in the seven-man federal Council, one of whom is also President of the Confederation. But the President possesses merely representative powers equal with the other six councillors. The Swiss President remains in office for only one year, and has no right to veto legislation, since the referendum in Switzerland is used rather than the presidential veto. As in the United States, the executive power of Switzerland has unusual stability, since no parliamentary vote of confidence is needed.

## Teaching the Social Studies in Units by the Laboratory Method

J. W. BALDWIN

*College of Education, University of Texas, Austin, Texas*

In many schools, the social studies are taught as separate subjects on all grade levels. In others, the materials from the different branches in this field are combined to form one or more unified courses. For example, history and geography, or history and civics, may be taught as a single course, while other subjects constitute separate courses. In many systems, the social studies are combined on some grade levels and taught separately on other levels. In this paper the term, "social studies," will be assumed to apply to subjects in this area regardless of the types of external organization, but with reference to internal organization the discussion is confined to the unit plan.

The unit has been defined by Henry C. Morrison, in his *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School*, as "A comprehensive and significant aspect of the environment, of an organized science, of an art, or of conduct which being learned results in an adaptation in personality."<sup>1</sup>

The *laboratory method* in the social studies involves the employment of source materials, supplementary references, mechanical devices, audio-visual aids, and many other life-like activities to supplement textbook instruction, and to increase the effectiveness of presentation and mastery.

<sup>1</sup> (1931 edition), pp. 24-25.

Although all teaching of the social studies should be done by the laboratory method, this discussion is confined to *teaching the social studies in units by the laboratory method*. But without accepting all the implications of the *unit mastery formula*, I am willing to admit that all teaching of the social studies on any grade level should be based on properly selected and properly organized units or projects.

Although I am in hearty accord with the unit mastery technique developed by Morrison insofar as it relates to the employment of equipment and teaching aids, there is one feature of this proposal with which I find myself unable to agree. In the steps of *exploration* and *presentation* we are confronted with the same weakness that is found in the *five formal steps* of the Herbartians. That is, the teacher is too much in the center of the stage and the pupil has too little to say in the way of purposing and planning of the proposed activity. Just as the teacher did most of the *preparation* and *presentation* in the *formal steps* of the recitation, so the teacher does most of the exploration and presentation in the unit mastery method proposed by Morrison. Of course, it may be argued that the pupil should do his *purposing*, *planning*, *executing* and *judging* in the last three steps of the unit mastery procedure, especially in the assimilation period, but if I have not misinterpreted the author's meaning, opportunities for such pupil activities, with the possible exception of "executing," seem to be limited.

On the other hand, the use of the laboratory method in teaching the social studies by units seems to be clearly implied not only by Morrison, but by others who have advocated the unit mastery technique in teaching the social studies. Morrison does not advocate as extensive use of the laboratory method as I should like to urge. On pp. 263-264 of the 1926 edition of the book to which I have just referred, Morrison says:

Except for the laboratory subjects, the ordinary classroom is apt to be a bare sort of place . . . The pupil does not, however, study advantageously under such conditions. He requires a workroom in which are collected the materials upon which he is for the time being dependent . . . In the first place, there should be on the walls charts which show

plainly the contents in use in the subjects for which the room is assigned. It is a waste of time in history to spend a large part of a course in memorizing the purely chronological data which help to form the framework within which the pupil thinks and studies. A history room should have charts for instant reference . . . In addition, the geographical subjects need, of course, the appropriate wall-map equipment.

In the second place, the room should contain, not only the few reference books required, but also the body of substantial content material which the pupils will have occasion to use . . .

Weaver and Hill, in *United States History by Units*, state that: "The history classroom during assimilation should be looked upon as a laboratory. . . ."<sup>2</sup> In the January, 1933, issue of *The Historical Outlook*, Anna Virginia Welch contributes an article: "The Unit Mastery Technique as Applied to the Teaching of History," in which she proposes that during the period of assimilation, the classroom take the form of a laboratory. In the preface to *Units in World History* by Greenan and Gathany,<sup>3</sup> the authors name as one of the special features of the book: "The inclusion of special pedagogical devices . . . to permit the use of the laboratory plan."

Since the *unit* must be understood in all its implications rather than merely memorized, it is impossible to teach units effectively except by the laboratory method. The type of laboratory activity employed will depend upon the nature of the unit under consideration. But every significant aspect of the social environment will require more than textbook information for its complete mastery. This is true with the social studies whether they are taught as separate subjects or as a unified course.

Instead of utilizing the laboratory method in the assimilation period alone, I would advocate the use of this type of procedure in all of the five steps necessary in mastering the unit. Of course, it should be used much more extensively in assimilation than in other steps. It could be used to considerable advantage in some of the tests given at various stages of progress. One of the best tests of the pupil's

<sup>2</sup> (Chicago, 1933), p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934.



understanding of the unit is his ability to demonstrate, in life-like situations through the use of laboratory techniques, the concrete and practical applications of acquired knowledge and skills.

This may be done through the collection and arrangement of clippings, pictures, specimens, relics, coins, flags, documents, and other kinds of exhibits. It may be done through the construction of models, relief maps, and stage scenery; through making posters, cartoons, charts, maps, drawings, and outlines; through dramatizations, excursions, and research activities; in fact, through any kind of activity which may be classed as laboratory procedure. Since the conventional type of tests, and nearly all new-type tests, are useful only for discovering whether materials have been memorized, we are forced to rely upon laboratory technique for testing the most desirable outcomes of instruction. It does not have to be done all in one period. There is no temptation to cram, or to substitute the passing of examinations for the achievement of the worth-while objectives of the unit.

When the laboratory method is properly employed in teaching the social studies, there need be little distinction between examination and other phases of teaching. The teacher can witness the acquisition of knowledge and skills and even estimate their extent and value as the learning proceeds. No further test is necessary for the most desirable outcomes. Testing has become so habitual with us that we have acquired the notion that we must be everlastingly inventing, constructing, revising, and administering tests to a suffering, despairing, defenseless aggregation of aspiring, ambitious boys and girls, whose chief ambition, for the time being, is the attainment of a diploma or some kind of evidence that examination days are over forever. Much of the energy and time which should be utilized in stimulating and directing learning activities are wasted in hounding the pupils to distraction with quizzes which test the least valuable of the possible outcomes.

The most natural internal organization of instructional materials in social studies is in units, the mastery of which results in a useful adjustment to the social environment through

the acquisition of desirable attitudes, knowledge, and skills. Any other kind of progress in this group of subjects is of little value, and is often harmful.

It is difficult to understand how such units of instruction, divorced from the laboratory procedure, can possibly be mastered to the point of refinement and integration of personality and useful adjustments. No objection can be raised against the use of textbooks. They are necessary both as a part of the preview and the review of the unit to be mastered. The admonition here is against the use of textbooks, lectures, and other conventional recitation devices to the exclusion of pupil activity in situations which approximate reality in the most effective way it can be achieved in the school—through laboratory activities. And these activities should not constitute a small or insignificant phase of the pupil's effort. Included with other phases of directed learning, as much as three-fourths of the pupil's time can be profitably employed in laboratory procedure.

We accept without question the fact that learning is of value only to the extent that it functions in pupil development. We have discovered that learning is not mastered until it is used. We know that unless it is used soon after it is acquired it will soon evaporate and cease to be available for application. The laboratory method of teaching provides opportunities for the application of knowledge and skills as soon as they are acquired and/or in the process of their acquisition. This alone can complete and assure their mastery. This also furnishes a motive for learning to the point of complete mastery.

In pageants, in drama, in observing motion and still pictures, in reconstructing historical land-marks, in collecting visual materials; in drawing maps, charts, and cartoons; in debates, patriotic music, designing costumes, interpreting maps, reading source books, organizing junior civic leagues, comparing opinions of different authorities, cooperating in group projects, and in many similar experiences pupils relive the past and participate in the kind of activities which life outside of school will demand.

This kind of mastery will meet the pupils' most urgent needs and will answer their most



pressing questions both in school and, later, in the affairs of adult life. What has been memorized may be forgotten. But what has been mastered through life-like experiences becomes an integrated element of the self or of personality to such an extent that all subsequent attitudes, judgments, and interests will be affected or modified thereby. Through such real and vicarious experiences students participate in their own creation. Through learning by doing, as well as by reading, they learn more effectively, more permanently, and more economically. The effectiveness of learning is increased to some extent by the fact that their understanding of the application of knowledge increases the joy of learning.

#### HOW THE LABORATORY METHOD MAY BE USED IN UNIT MASTERY

The *exploration* period, the first step in the unit mastery technique, aims to determine whether the class and various individuals in it are ready for the proposed unit and whether they already know enough about it to make it advisable to go on to something else. In this step it is also well to attempt to discover group and individual aptitudes, interests, and deficiencies with respect to the unit.

Laboratory procedure provides one of the best possible agencies for employment in making such a diagnosis. The pupil should be brought into contact with the equipment and the devices which are needed to supplement lecture and textbook instruction in the mastery of the unit. Along with other means of exploration, the pupil's attention should be directed to the use which may be made of such equipment in helping him to make this new adjustment. The introductory remarks of the teacher might be illustrated with slides, prints, photographs, maps, and other visual aids.

The diagnostic tests for this step should, in many instances, include laboratory activities in which the pupils demonstrate their ability to cope with the issues involved, their skill in manipulating the devices to be used in motivating the subject matter, and in stimulating a consciousness of reality in the learning process. Each pupil may be called upon to react in his own way, or the teacher could designate one specific reaction pattern for all members of the group. It could be the location of places

on the map, drawing a cartoon, making a chart, suggesting reference materials, operating projection apparatus, or impersonating some historical character.

When the *presentation* step is reached the laboratory procedure may be utilized in much the same way and for much the same purpose as it was used in the exploratory period. The presentation lecture may be illustrated with motion pictures or other audio-visual aids. The products of laboratory activities of another group which has dealt with the same unit or a similar one previously may be exhibited. The right use of tools and other apparatus may be explained.

The pupils can demonstrate their progress, their aptitudes, and their interests through performance of appropriate laboratory activities, as well as through responses to other tests applied by the teacher. It is not intended that these laboratory activities shall take the place of oral and written evidence of the present achievement and comprehension. It is urged that such activities be utilized to supplement evidence secured through other devices. In this way, valuable learning should accompany testing.

Attention has already been called to the use of the laboratory method in the *assimilation* period. Practically all of the activity of this period should be supervised laboratory activity. Textbooks are to be used as the point of departure only. All the facilities of the laboratory, including source materials, supplies, maps, visual aids and other materials should be placed at the pupils' disposal. Opportunities should be provided for excursions, dramatization, exhibits, discussions, debates, drawing, modeling, designing, consulting reference works, collecting illustrative materials, making posters, filling in outline maps, constructing relief maps, composing mottoes and acrostics, and engaging in any other activity which will intensify the feeling of reality and increase the effectiveness of learning. This type of activity will emphasize understanding and mastery rather than memory and parrot-like recitation.

In the *organization* period the pupils should be permitted to organize the results of their laboratory activity as well as those achieved through reading book assignments. The outline

can, in many instances, be accompanied by materials produced or collected. Cartoons and other illustrations may be utilized to demonstrate further the pupil's appreciation and comprehension of various concepts. These often speak much louder and much more adequately than words. Through such means he can indicate the various relationships of different phases of the unit to each other and to the unit as a whole. They will indicate his emotional reactions, which are often more important than his purely intellectual development.

The final step, that of *recitation or application*, offers practically the same opportunities for supplementing oral and written reports with concrete, life-like laboratory activities as does the organization period. The teacher should be as much concerned about the pupil's ability to make application of his knowledge and skills as she is about the fact that he had acquired them. In fact, the best evidence that a pupil has really mastered them is his ability to apply them in natural situations such as the laboratory provides. These laboratory activities furnish the most conclusive evidence of real and valuable growth and adjustment that the school facilities afford. Every item of equipment and supplies, and every process made possible by the laboratory facilities, can be employed advantageously in vitalizing these culminating activities.

#### EQUIPMENT NEEDED FOR SUCH ACTIVITIES

It is fortunate that much of the material necessary for use in the laboratory procedure in the social studies may be secured at little cost. Much of it can be produced or collected by teachers and pupils as the need develops. Often the activities involved in acquiring such materials are as educative as is the use of them after they have been made available. But if the social studies are to be taught effectively, special provision must be made for equipment just as special arrangement is made for laboratory facilities in the physical sciences. The traditional classroom with its conventional equipment, or lack of equipment, cannot adequately satisfy the demand.

A workroom should be provided with tables and chairs instead of desks. There should be at least one large work table, in addition to these smaller ones, to provide space for work

on large maps, charts, and construction projects. Such seating provisions require more floor space than ordinary desks. There will also be a much greater demand for space for shelves, filing cabinets, and other equipment than is made on the regular classroom. The floor area of a social studies laboratory should be at least 50 per cent greater than that of the regular classroom. A few schools allow the area of two regular classrooms for the laboratory. In addition to this increased space in the workroom itself, there should be, adjoining it, a large storage room equipped with shelves and racks for the storage of maps, supplies, and other materials. This storage room may serve the entire social studies department, but should not be used by other departments.

Under present conditions, the social studies laboratory should be equipped with projection facilities for motion pictures, slides, and opaque materials. Opaque shades as well as translucent shades are needed for the windows. Electric fans should be provided for use when the room is darkened and the ventilation obstructed, except in buildings equipped with forced ventilation systems. It is much more satisfactory when the department can have its own projection machines so that it can be assured of their availability at the time when they can be used to best advantage.

Open shelves should be provided for a departmental library, magazines, folding maps or charts, and various kinds of exhibits. Cabinets and cupboards will be needed for projection apparatus, and for museum materials when not on display. There should be cabinets for slides, card catalog, and for project materials which are filed for future use. At least one glass-front museum case will be required for display purposes. A sink or a lavatory with running water will prove itself one of the most valuable items of equipment. A radio, a phonograph, recording devices, a clock, a combination dictionary stand and magazine rack, a small cabinet for the teacher's personal effects; several sets of maps, including history and geography maps, weather maps, product maps, economic and citizenship charts, should all be included in the list of necessities for an adequately equipped workroom for social studies. Some good blackboard outline maps and one

or more pendant globes should constitute a part of the map equipment. A map rail with adjustable hooks is a great convenience.

It is not necessary to provide a great amount of blackboard space. From twelve to eighteen linear feet of blackboard is sufficient. But bulletin board space is more important, and all wall space not occupied by the blackboard or cabinets and shelves should be utilized for bulletin boards. The bulletin board should extend two or three feet higher than the top of the blackboard.

The cabinets should be built flush with the walls wherever possible. The tables should be heavy and the chairs rather light in weight. The chairs should be equipped with metal gliders attached through rubber cushions in order to minimize sound and make it easy to move the chairs away from the tables without moving the tables.

These items include only the minimum requirement for effective teaching of the social studies by the laboratory procedure. And the social studies should not be taught by any other procedure.

## The Birth of a Nation: Brazil

GERALDINE O'ROURKE

*Marygrove College, Detroit, Michigan*

The world of the decade just past, quaking before the possibility of Nazi domination, was not the first to experience fear of a power-mad dictator. One hundred and fifty years ago Europe, terror-stricken, watched the meteoric rise of Napoleon and saw nation after nation, crown after crown, topple before his invincible armies. His goal was Europe, the means to his end was force, and those who blocked his path were ruthlessly crushed. In an effort to stop at its source the commerce so vital to the strength of England, his chief opponent, Napoleon devised what was termed the Continental System which closed European ports to British ships. Portugal, long the commercial ally of England, refused to abide by the arrangements of the Napoleonic system and adhered to Britain. In 1807, under the command of General Junot and supported by the connivance of Spain, France therefore invaded the tiny Lusitanian kingdom. This act was the first link in a chain of events which led to the eventual downfall of Napoleon and to the independence of the Portuguese colony of Brazil.

As soon as news of the invasion reached the Portuguese royal family, feverish preparations for flight got under way. The British minister to Portugal and Sir Sidney Smith, a naval commander, offered the protection of an English convoy to Brazil, which the Regent, Dom João, eagerly accepted. The entire royal entourage,

including the insane queen, Maria, the Prince and Princess Regent, several royal children, most of the Portuguese nobility, and innumerable servants, embarked just as French troops entered the capital city. The refugees took with them the national archives, treasure amounting to \$50,000,000 in state funds, and the chief ministers to set up a Portuguese government-in-exile in Brazil.

What happened after the fifteen thousand Portuguese disembarked in Rio de Janeiro constitutes one of the most fascinating chapters in Latin American chronicles, for the royal Braganza dynasty, ruling in Brazil, was responsible for the emergence of that country as a nation.

Soon after his arrival, Dom João realized that Brazil had been sadly exploited, and saw the necessity for building up a strong, prosperous colony to offset the loss of Portugal, and to maintain the position of his own dynasty. He at once initiated a series of reforms intended to improve conditions within the colony, but he did not foresee the effect of his action on Brazil. Through his reforms, Dom João was unwittingly laying the foundations for the development of the Brazilian nation.

The first action taken by the Regent, just one week after he disembarked, was the opening of Brazilian ports to world trade and the reduction of import duties. Dom João had excellent rea-



sons for so doing. In the first place, Brazil was in need of certain commodities which Portugal had formerly supplied, but which she was no longer able to furnish. The only European country that could make up for this loss was Great Britain, because Napoleon's Continental System had cut off the overseas trade of other nations. Secondly, the royal family owed a debt to the British navy for its protection and for the part it played in transporting the Portuguese government to Brazil. By dropping trade barriers and removing restrictions, the Braganzas repaid some of their obligation. Moreover, Brazil was in need of funds, and tariffs on foreign goods supplied the finances necessary to defray the expense of administration.<sup>1</sup>

To understand fully the significance attached to the removal of these restrictions, it is necessary to review the economic policy of Portugal in regard to her colonies. The Portuguese had followed the mercantile system common to almost all European nations having colonial possessions. Lisbon held her colonies in close, selfish bondage for profitable exploitation, while the colonies had to produce what the mother country wanted, and were restrained from producing what the mother country did not want. Under this system many restrictions on colonial trade existed. Products from the colonies could be shipped only to the Portuguese ports of Lisbon and Oporto, while any commerce between the *capitaneas* (districts) was forbidden. Furthermore, Portuguese ships were the only vessels in which goods could be transported. What is more, the royal family had a monopoly on Brazil's most valuable products, diamonds and brazil wood. On the whole, the entire colonial economic policy was in favor of Portugal at Brazil's expense.<sup>2</sup>

The reforms undertaken by the Braganza regent, Dom João, however, made Brazil economically independent. They granted liberty in commercial and mercantile affairs, and they brought greater prosperity to the colony. Production received a stimulus with the creation of new markets and new methods of transportation. Brazil was no longer dependent upon Portugal for her prosperity.

Besides encouraging trade, Dom João furthered domestic welfare by annulling certain laws which prohibited industry and hampered agriculture. He reopened factories and repealed the regulations that retarded the development of the mining industry. In this way, too, Brazil became economically independent, for native initiative received encouragement, while national energies found an outlet in building up a Brazilian economy freed from former colonial restrictions.

Not only in the field of economics, but also in politics did the Braganza ruler help to form the nation Brazil. In addition to making Brazil's economy self-directing, he changed the political status of the colony. Up to the time of the emigration, the reins of colonial government had been tightly held by the Portuguese monarchy and were entrusted only to Portuguese subjects. By 1815, however, the monarch no longer considered Brazil a colony, but an integral part of the Lusitanian kingdom; the relationship between Portugal and Brazil had reversed, for Portugal now seemed more a dependency than a mother country.<sup>3</sup>

In view of this situation, Dom João issued a declaration in 1815, constituting Brazil a kingdom on an equal footing with Portugal. He now styled the Portuguese domain "the United Kingdom of Brazil, Portugal, and the Algarves." The Regent remained at Rio de Janeiro, which replaced Lisbon as capital of the Portuguese empire. The Declaration of 1815 was the first step in the direction of independence and was, as well, a check on the dissatisfaction of the people, who thereafter took much pleasure in the thought that their monarch preferred Brazil to Portugal.<sup>5</sup>

The change in the political status of Brazil was most significant; it marked the point at which Brazilians began to feel pride in their nationality as distinct from the Portuguese, and to realize that they had become more important than the mother country. The advance from colony to kingdom thus furthered the development of the nation.

Brazilian national life also profited socially from the presence of the royal family. Prior to

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Calogeras, *A History of Brazil*, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> E. C. Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America: A History*, pp. 333-338.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Ward, "The Congress of Vienna," *Cambridge Modern History*, 9:vi.

<sup>4</sup> F. A. Kirkpatrick, *Latin America*, p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> E. C. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 338.



the emigration, Rio de Janeiro had been thoroughly colonial in habit and in custom. Sewerage and hygiene were non-existent, and the general standard of living was very low.<sup>6</sup> Since there were no educational facilities of any consequence, the colonists either studied abroad or received no formal education at all. With the arrival of the court, however, social conditions noticeably improved. The more sophisticated, polished Europeans demanded and got educational and cultural facilities within a very short time, and Brazil benefited accordingly.

The Prince promoted the foundation of colleges of surgery and medicine in Rio and Bahia, as well as the establishment of hospitals. He was especially interested in the introduction of vaccination for small pox and in the setting up of a quarantine station. These were unheard of innovations. Dom João provided for national defense by establishing naval and military academies as well as a munitions factory. In 1808, the National Institute and the School of Fine Arts came into being.

After the fall of Napoleon, many French scholars and literary men settled in Brazil to work at the National Institute, and cultural standards were thereby raised. Also, in 1808, the Prince founded the Royal Botanical Gardens to improve agriculture and to acclimate new plants. A royal printing press was introduced, and statutes prohibiting printed books were relaxed to permit the dissemination of knowledge and culture. In 1814, a national library, the forerunner of the Biblioteca Nacional, came into existence with a collection of 60,000 volumes from the personal collection of Dom João.<sup>7</sup> The Regent also planned other artistic and scientific projects, and he encouraged immigration to increase the sparse population of Brazil.

All of these social improvements, from health measures to educational and cultural advances, made for the development of national forces. They raised the standard of living. They eliminated, to some extent, the provincial narrowness of the Brazilian mind. Where there had been abject ignorance and apathy now existed new vitality and interest. The social reforms of the Braganza regent played an essential role in the rise of the Brazilian nation.

Obviously, Dom João was much interested in the progress and destiny of Brazil. He loved the country and would have been content to spend the rest of his days there, but fate made other arrangements. In 1816, the demented ruler of Portugal, Maria, died, and her son, the Regent Dom João, succeeded her as Joao VI of Portugal. Although he lingered a few years longer in Brazil, conditions across the Atlantic demanded his return. The year 1820 had seen outbreak and agitation for a liberal constitution in Lisbon; by 1821, Portuguese authorities insisted that the king return. To save Portugal for the dynasty, João VI had to comply. Accordingly, he prepared to leave. His son, Dom Pedro, he appointed Regent of Brazil, and in his parting message, he said: "Pedro, if Brazil has to be separated from Portugal, as appears likely, you take the crown for yourself, before somebody else gathers it in."<sup>8</sup> Then, to the great sorrow of his Brazilian subjects, he set sail with some 3,000 Portuguese noblemen.

After the king departed for Portugal, Dom Pedro assumed his duties as Regent of Brazil. At first, he believed that union between the two kingdoms could be maintained if their respective legislatures remained separate, but he soon discovered that the Cortes had other plans for the overseas realm. The Portuguese entertained little or no sympathy for Brazil; they were jealous of Brazilian development during the royal sojourn in South America and they claimed that the ills of Portugal were due to Dom João's residence in Brazil and to the opening of Brazilian ports. The Portuguese were exceptionally rude to Brazilian deputies; they began work on the constitution before the overseas representatives arrived; they ridiculed their speeches and treated their proposals with contempt.<sup>9</sup>

It soon became clear that the Portuguese intended to restore Brazil to a colonial status as quickly as possible. They began by declaring that Brazil was to be governed by a Junta responsible only to the Cortes. All Brazilian laws and commercial measures were to be subject to Portuguese review. The proposed revival of *capitaneas* would have again put Brazil under the direct rule of Lisbon, and would have re-established Portuguese commercial monopoly.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> J. P. Calogeras, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>7</sup> F. A. Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>8</sup> E. C. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

<sup>9</sup> J. P. Calogeras, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>10</sup> E. C. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

The Portuguese government, not the Regent in Brazil, was to have the power of appointing Brazilian ministers, and those who defied the Cortes were to be tried for treason in Lisbon.<sup>11</sup>

The methods used by Dom Pedro in resisting Portuguese reaction resulted finally in Brazilian independence, for the Regent was not one to suffer the loss of all that his father had previously gained for Brazil. Dom Pedro had originally opposed Portuguese attempts to reinstate the colonial status by sending his deputies to see that the new constitution guaranteed absolute political and economic equality between the two kingdoms, with parallel governmental organization in Brazil and Portugal, and with alternation of the capital between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro.<sup>12</sup> When the efforts of the deputies proved fruitless, Dom Pedro resorted to more effective measures. He traveled from town to town, and from province to province, sounding out public opinion and obtaining the support of local leaders. His task was not difficult. The Brazilians were quite aware of Portuguese intentions, and the reactionary enactments of the Cortes roused impatience and resentment and paved the way for the inevitable break.<sup>13</sup> General irritation and the conviction that separation was necessary resulted in the growth of agitation for independence. Dom Pedro had simply to organize and consolidate growing dissatisfaction with the situation.

While in the midst of these activities, the Regent received a peremptory summons from the Cortes to return to Lisbon at once. Under the influence of popular disturbances, and on the advice of public authorities headed by José Bonifácio Andrada, he decided to remain. Dom Pedro thus irrevocably cast his lot with the New World and assumed leadership of the revolutionary movement, eventually bringing independence to Brazil.

The Regent now redoubled his efforts; he united representatives of the rebellious provinces; he visited country districts and bound up the unity and independence of Brazil with the Braganza dynasty. In May, 1822, he accepted the title of "Perpetual Defender and Protector of Brazil" and issued a summons for the

convocation of a constitutional assembly. Dom Pedro himself believed firmly in constitutional government. Only in February, 1822, had he written to his father:

I believe that nothing but a constitution can bring happiness to a nation; more than that, I believe it spells good fortune for a king and his government. If the people are miserable without a constitution, their rulers deserve even greater pity . . .<sup>14</sup>

Again in May of that same year he wrote:

It is necessary for Brazil to have its own Cortes; this idea is being voiced more generally from day to day. Right here in the capital people are asking me to convoke their representatives and I cannot refuse because their demands are quite constitutional . . .<sup>15</sup>

In his decree summoning the constitutional convention, Dom Pedro evidently was acting in accordance with his own convictions.

This decree was a decisive step and was regarded as an act of rebellion by Lisbon. The Cortes annulled all acts of the Regent and condemned his councillors for high treason. Dom Pedro received this piece of news as he was traveling through the provinces, and at the banks of the Ypirango River, he impulsively uttered his famous *grito*, "Independence or death!"<sup>16</sup> The date was September 7, 1822, the birthday of the Brazilian nation.

The Revolution met with little opposition; Brazilians were in sympathy with it, and the scattered Portuguese garrisons were easily overcome. Thus, with a minimum of bloodshed, rebellion was a *fait accompli*. Dom Pedro received recognition as constitutional Emperor that same year, in virtue of hereditary right and by popular choice.

The new emperor's next task consisted of securing international recognition of his infant nation. Brazil had always had the good will of the United States, which, in 1824, was the first nation to establish diplomatic relations. The European nations acted less promptly. Dom Pedro was fortunate in obtaining the influence of George Canning, the British foreign minister; for this reason and because of the demands of trade, Britain extended formal rec-

<sup>11</sup> J. P. Calogeras, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>14</sup> B. Harding, *Amazon Throne*, p. 109.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>16</sup> F. G. Calderon, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress*, p. 183.

ognition in 1825, as did Austria, which also was a buffer between Rio and Lisbon for dynastic reasons; the Empress of Brazil was the daughter of the Emperor of Austria. Between Canning of Britain and Metternich of Austria, Portugal had no alternative but to admit defeat; late in 1825, she too recognized the sovereign Brazilian state. Thus, within four years, Dom Pedro brought independence to Brazil.

The era in which Brazil achieved self-rule was revolutionary in spirit and in fact. Her neighbors, the Spanish colonies, had also engaged in struggles to obtain autonomy. Yet the distinctive and rather peculiar thing about the revolution in Brazil was that the ruling dynasty of Portugal should have been the instigator and leader of revolt. The revolution did not have its birth on the banks of the Ypirango River, nor in the hearts of discontented Creole leaders. Its beginnings are to be found in the very moment that Dom João set foot on Brazilian shores and in his economic, political, and social reforms which provided not only the blue

prints but also the very foundations for a new nation.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### General Works

- Jayne, Kingsley G., "History of Portugal," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXII (1911), 139-155.  
 Johnson, A. Keith, Akers, C. E., and Edmundson, George, "History of Brazil," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, IV (1911), 454-463.  
 Markham, Sir Clements R., "Colonial History of South America," *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VIII (1889), 294-368.  
 Rose, J. Holland, "The Napoleonic Empire at Its Height," *Cambridge Modern History*, IX (1904), 294-340.  
 Ward, A. W., "Preface," *Cambridge Modern History*, IX (1904).  
 Ward, A. W., "The Congress of Vienna," *Cambridge Modern History*, IX (1904), 646-671.

##### Books

- Calderon, F. Garcia, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913).  
 Calogeras, João Pandia, *A History of Brazil* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939).  
 Chapman, E. Charles, *Colonial Hispanic America: A History* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933).  
 Harding, Bertita, *Amazon Throne* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941).  
 Kirkpatrick, F. A., *Latin America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933).  
 Pattee, Richard, *Introducción a la Civilización Hispano-americana* (Boston D. C. Heath and Company, 1945).

## The Teacher of Social Studies: A Reappraisal

CHARLES WILLIAM HEATHCOTE

Head, Department of Social Studies, State Teachers College, West Chester, Pennsylvania

There are many people who think of teaching as a job, a position or a profession. It may be made any one of these three, according to the viewpoint or attitude of the individual. However, the work of the teacher is more than performing a job, filling a position or serving a profession. The teacher has a sacred trust or obligation to fulfill. It is an office to which he is called to serve, in order to function in the ministry of teaching. We may justly claim that teaching is one of the professions but as a profession it has no standing, authority or recognition unless the teacher recognizes his office as a sacred task which has thus been instituted.

Since the teacher is dealing with life—vital human life—he has the best of all materials with which to deal; but life is more than these; it is something immortal. This wonderful something which we call life comes to the teacher in

its most plastic, pliable state and condition. The teacher's mind, will, and conviction mold the plastic mind organism of the pupils. It is clearly evident that the teacher's position is important in the social and cultural relations of the group.

The time is rapidly approaching when more stress shall be laid upon the teacher's preparation. This is a step in the right direction. The teacher needs at least a bachelor's degree, and he should go forward to attain the master's degree, and, if he finds himself interested in specialization, he should work for the doctorate. The prospective teacher must realize that he cannot go on indefinitely deriving all of his knowledge from books. His investigation, observation and study must take him into many new avenues. He must travel, study people and institutions in their own native environment. He must visit battlefields, old churches, muse-



ums, libraries and many other sources to glean as far as possible, direct knowledge of conditions involved. The teacher preparing for service and in service must be a most careful reader and as such must read the best and most authoritative books and magazines. Preparation is always continuous. Let it be remembered that the successful social studies teacher is not a bookworm or bookish. He knows books, magazines, people, institutions and many other valuable things in order to teach successfully, but he has assimilated his material until it is a part of his own nature so that he can interpret it out of his own consciousness. In other words, it is a part of his personality.

That a teacher should be well dressed, neat and careful in his appearance is self-evident. The care of health is likewise manifested in appearance. For the teacher must enjoy the best of health if he would teach efficiently and successfully. There are so many demands made upon the mind and body in the course of a day, that it is impossible to record them. Regular habits and good food help to develop health, poise, energy and personality which are so essential in a teacher's work. Nervous activities must be normal to enjoy one's work. Then the teacher speaks in a well modulated voice and not in shrill or harsh tones which disturb the orderly procedure of the class room.

A good, careful preparation for one's work is the chief source of confidence. One knows what he is going to do. He knows his material. Confidence utilized in the right way helps him to be positive and constructive in his teaching. He will help to have all sides of a question discussed and try to arrive at a definite decision as far as possible. It might be remembered that an opinion expressed does not constitute the teaching of social studies. The result to be achieved must be definite and not probable.

One of the valuable assets in a social studies teacher's life is enthusiasm. The word is derived from two Greek words "en" and "theo" which mean "in god." The concept sets forth the idea that the individual who is buoyant, active, radiant and earnest about his work has the spirit of the gods in him. Such a teacher is a meliorist, but at the same time is optimistically hopeful; he is expectant. History teems with so many people who are patriotically minded, devoted to

the institutions of their countries, and anxious to promote the best interest of all in order that civilization shall be strengthened and extended. This is the spirit which inspires new love in the pupils to know and understand.

A factor which is so closely correlated to enthusiasm is tact. It is the concept which helps us to understand and appreciate human contacts. We do not need to live very long in the world before we realize that there are large numbers of people who differ with us in opinion along all lines. The schoolroom is a great teacher of the varieties of human relationships. Here, as an older person, but as the teacher of the social studies, it becomes fundamentally necessary to appreciate and understand the viewpoint of the children. Because of the varied home life of the pupils, we must be charitable, sympathetic, tolerant, and helpful.

Trying times will arise in classroom activities which bring up problems which are difficult to solve. Many difficulties which create tension and intensity may be overcome if a teacher has a sense of humor and can smile. When emotions are intense, discipline is impossible, conditions are abnormal. A teacher's tactfulness will strengthen his influence among his group, because the pupils realize he is human and understands. Through tactful directions, the teacher will lead his pupils to realize that discipline means learning and that teacher and pupils are working together, disciples in their endeavor to solve their mutual and common problems.

To be helpful to a group, large or small, old or young, involves the highest viewpoint of citizenship. The teacher of social studies has the unusual opportunity of helping the children lay the right kind of foundation for citizenship. In their early plastic experience they can be molded to live useful and usable lives of citizenship. They are to serve their country in the best form of patriotism possible. The secret of this service is found chiseled into the beautiful chaste marble on the one side of the chapel in Arlington Cemetery, Washington, D. C., which reads "not the soldier, but the citizen." These words imply that the greatest service the teacher can render is to teach the child the ideals of good will and mutual understanding in all contacts and that the ideals of our country are not militaristic. However, it is to be a citizenship which shall be capable of defending, pro-



protecting, and keeping intact its borders, honors and institutions in case it is necessary to go to war. Citizenship in America does not mean military aggrandizement or imperialism, but service through cooperation, arbitration and integration.

In our ordinary conversation, we are using continually such words as justice, fair dealing, honor, honesty and many similar concepts. As we readily note, they are basic concepts of social studies. In the course of studies from the kindergarten to the senior high school inclusive, the idea of fair dealing meets one continually. When right relations are shown, children are ready to respond to the best influences, and the teacher constitutes this sphere of influence. By his teaching and personality, he can create an atmosphere of tolerance and open-mindedness which will be everlasting.

This is an unusual era in which we are living. All of us have more leisure time because of the numerous inventions, discoveries and improvements which have touched our common experiences of living. Because of this fact, our citizenship achievement should be richer and larger progress should be made in developing our civic virtues. Our interests should extend beyond the confines of our own homes into the larger life of the community. Here is where the teacher can make his influence felt in a constructive way. Service which he can render in the community also helps him in his teaching as he comes to know some of the problems which will help him in motivating the social studies.

The social studies teacher's requisites imply certain lines of preparation, the possession and development of certain skills. The teacher's technique is to be shown in various ways in each piece of work to be accomplished. Each course has distinctive objectives and aims. These should be set forth very clearly so that the pupil knows something about what he is going to do. To many pupils, history is history. How unfortunate it is that, under such circumstances, pupils must go on studying so many pages of history each day without the teacher's having unfolded something of the plans and philosophy of the course. It is true that immature minds may not grasp all the teacher may set forth in the objectives, nevertheless, if they are set forth in simple language and referred to in the con-

crete phases of the study, they will grasp and understand more than we realize. The comprehension of children in the elementary schools is not infrequently unusually acute. Of course, more can be expected from the pupils in the secondary schools. The teacher should cast and recast the objectives of the social studies courses until they are so definitely formed in his own mind that he can make them clearly understood by the pupils in his courses. A course cannot be successfully taught unless the objectives may be thoroughly visualized.

In addition to the objectives being set forth, the concept of appreciation must be evaluated in the technique of the teacher and evolved in the experience of the child. The history lesson should be unfolded by the teacher so that the pupil shall love his country and its institutions and through the lesson have a vision of its glories, responsibilities, problems to be solved and his personal relationship to all of them. The enthusiasm of the teacher, in making history real, vital and interesting, will help the child form a sense of appreciation of his country and inspire within him the ideals of noble citizenship.

The lesson must be presented in a methodical way in order to clinch the objectives and develop the sense of appreciation. The presentation of the lesson implies several things. There must be thorough organization of the course as well as the particular lessons of the course. The teacher's responsibility is found in knowing the content generally and the subject matter particularly. The various methods used and adaptability to the age experiences and levels of the pupils help to stimulate their interest in the course.

The pupils must know how to study. Through the teacher may give general directions, nevertheless, each pupil must be helped as far as possible to understand his own particular case. As he finds himself and is helped to master himself, he shall know the results of his own efforts. The questions which a teacher asks should be challenging, stimulating, and in their results inspirational and habit forming. The contacts with pupils are important to mold their lives into the highest ideals of citizenship, service and character.

# The Presidential Tenure Amendment

LESTER H. PHILLIPS

*University of Redlands, Redlands, California*

Every four years witnesses the renewal of discussion of our presidential electoral system. The election of 1948 has been no exception. Almost no public attention is being given, however, to a related but much more immediate problem—the proposed limitation upon presidential tenure. The year 1949 may be the decisive year with regard to this proposal. Advocated by the Republicans in their platforms of 1940 and 1944, and supported by resolutions in several Republican state legislatures, a presidential tenure amendment received the required two thirds vote of Congress in March, 1947, and to date has been approved by twenty-one of the required thirty-six state legislatures. During 1949 no less than twenty-three of the legislatures, which have not yet acted upon the proposed amendment, will be convened in regular session, making it entirely possible for the ratification process to be completed and a Twenty-second Amendment to be operative before the passing of another year.

Originating as House Joint Resolution 27 in the first session of the 80th Congress,<sup>1</sup> the proposed constitutional amendment was approved by the Senate in amended form, to which the House concurred on March 21, 1947.<sup>2</sup> The final text of the proposal reads as follows:

Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within

which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission to the states by the Congress.<sup>3</sup>

The letters transmitting the certified copies of the joint resolution to the governors of the states requesting submission to the legislatures were dated March 27, 1947.<sup>4</sup> Failure to receive the approval of the required minimum by March 27, 1954, will automatically "kill" the instant proposal.<sup>5</sup>

The import of the article is clear. No person other than Mr. Truman would be exempt from its limitations. Any person elected to the office of President in 1952 or thereafter would be limited to not more than two four-year terms, consecutive or otherwise, and any person becoming President through constitutional or statutory succession would be subject to the maximum of ten years, whether succeeding to Mr. Truman or to any other person holding the office of President.

Since the highly successful use of the state convention method of ratification, in 1933, in the adoption of the Twenty-first Amendment, it had been presumed by many that that method would be used upon the occasion of future amendments. Proposals in the House and in the Senate to apply this procedure to the presidential tenure amendment were easily defeated, although considerable debate ensued as to its use in 1933 and upon the details of its use. Members of the Senate demonstrated a high degree of unfamiliarity in both of these aspects.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> 61 Statutes at Large, 959.

<sup>4</sup> Department of State: Release for the Press No. 198, March 12, 1948.

<sup>5</sup> The possible admission of Hawaii, and perhaps also of Alaska, to statehood during the period in which the proposal remains unratified would raise the number of ratifications from 36 to 37 or 38.

<sup>6</sup> See the succinct analysis of and comment upon this debate by Everett S. Brown in "The Term of Office of the President," *The American Political Science Review*, XLI, No. 3 (June, 1947), pp. 447-452.

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of previous proposals, see *The Congressional Digest*, XXVI, No. 1 (Jan., 1947), pp. 14-16.

<sup>2</sup> *Congressional Record*, 80th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 2392. The vote in favor of concurrence with the Senate amendments was 81 to 29. The original House vote on H. J. Res. 27 was 285-121, with the 238 Republicans present voting "yea." The final Senate vote was 59-23, with the 46 Republicans present voting "yea." *Congressional Quarterly*, III (1947), pp. 93 and 96.

It may be suggested that while Republican minorities protested throughout the debates that the proposition was entirely nonpartisan, political considerations did determine the choice of the ratification method. The basis for the limitation proposal appears to have been founded in antipathy to President Franklin D. Roosevelt; the stimulus for the proposed amendment had come almost solely from Republicans; the votes and debates in the two houses demonstrate solid Republican support, with heavy Democratic opposition. Several times in the Senate debates, Republican members asserted that the state legislatures would quickly approve the proposal. Their strategy called for its speedy submission to the legislatures—striking while the iron was hot and while the majorities were at hand.

The pattern of state action following the transmission of the tenure proposal bears out this analysis. Four days after the official mailing from Washington, two legislatures voted approval, Maine edging out Michigan by a matter of hours for the honor of first place. Within four weeks (between April 1 and April 29) thirteen additional approvals followed: Iowa, Kansas, New Hampshire, Delaware, Illinois, Oregon, Colorado, California, New Jersey, Vermont, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania. During the month of May, favorable action was taken by the legislatures of Connecticut, Missouri, and Nebraska, making a total of eighteen and completing the list for 1947.<sup>7</sup> It will thus be observed that within the short space of eight weeks, one half of the required number of approvals had been obtained. On the other hand, only two legislatures, both with Democratic complexions, acted unfavorably. On April 15, indefinite postponement was voted in Oklahoma, and on April 22 the lower house in Texas rejected the proposed amendment by vote of 84 to 27.<sup>8</sup>

Early in the year 1948, three additional states, Virginia in January, Mississippi in February, and New York in March,<sup>9</sup> joined the ranks of those voting approval. This brought the total to twenty-one, where it stands at the

opening of the legislative season of 1949. While in almost every instance the favorable votes were along straight party lines, the breaking of the Democratic opposition by Virginia and Mississippi dispels any thought that only Republican legislatures would vote approval. The future of the "Dixiecrats" is uncertain, and it may eventuate that no further non-Republican legislatures will join the parade, but there is certainly a clear possibility that the balance of fifteen ratifications may be forthcoming in 1949.

Of immediate interest, then, is the schedule of legislative sessions for those states which have not approved the proposed amendment.<sup>10</sup> In the use of state legislatures for determining the wishes of the state, there is the inherent weakness that, while supposedly representative of the people, the legislators were certainly not elected on the basis of their stand on presidential tenure. Further, there is evident in this procedure an almost complete absence of public knowledge that the issue is before the representatives. In many instances, decision by the legislature may be the more desirable method, but, in the matter of limiting the right of the people to choose a President, the decision in all fairness ought to have been made more directly by the voters. As Professor Everett S. Brown has written: "It is rather to be regretted, however, that the Senate did not insist upon ratification by state conventions, in order that there might have been a more direct test of public sentiment on a question of constitutional development which for so long has been a matter of discussion and controversy."<sup>11</sup>

Lacking the opportunity to select convention delegates upon the basis of this issue, the only remaining course of action for the alert citizen is to inform himself of the probability of action by his legislature. The following states which have not yet acted upon the proposal will convene in legislative session in January: Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming. The legislature of Florida opens

<sup>7</sup> Dates of ratification are listed in the press release cited *supra*, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *New York Times*, April 16 and April 23, 1947.

<sup>9</sup> Governor Dewey had urged approval in his message to the legislature in January.

<sup>10</sup> Of course, legislatures rejecting a proposed amendment may reconsider it at any time.

<sup>11</sup> Everett S. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 452.



its session in April, and that of Alabama, in May.<sup>12</sup>

Implicit in the above presentation is the suggestion that the proposed limitation on presidential tenure should be rejected. The arguments on both sides may be reduced to two contentions. On the one hand is the assertion that continuation in office beyond eight years may lead to undesirable entrenchment, autocratic behavior, and dictatorship. On the other, there is pointed out the danger that lies in binding future voters to the requirement of selecting a replacement upon the expiration of eight years in office, regardless of circumstances, and perhaps contrary to the will of the majority. If the choice is between these contentions, how can anyone conclude other than that the experience of the nation to date justifies the judgment of the framers of the Constitution?<sup>13</sup>

Analysis of the history of the no-third-term tradition demonstrates the wisdom of continuing the constitutional provision of unlimited reeligibility.<sup>14</sup> "Turn and twist it as you will,"

<sup>12</sup> Information supplied by State Law Section, Library of Congress.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. William S. Jenkins and Charles S. James, Jr., "Shall the People Elect the President?" *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 47, No. 3 (July, 1947), pp. 330-341.

<sup>14</sup> See Charles W. Stein, *The Third-Term Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943). For a brief discussion of considerations bearing on this decision see also Arthur M. Schlesinger, "The Third Term Issue," *The American Mercury*, 64, No. 280 (April, 1947), pp. 407-412.

writes Professor Henry S. Commager, "the proposed amendment is a vote of no confidence in democracy."<sup>15</sup> A further danger in this proposal lies in its conflict with a basic principle of our constitutional system. Limitations in the Constitution are for the purpose of protecting the people against infringements of their rights by government. Here is a proposal to limit the people, supposedly from themselves. That is a matter that should be left in the realm of politics for decision by the people as time and circumstances dictate. Professor D. F. Fleming states the matter decisively in these words: "It is no service to the Constitution to make it so rigid that it would some time have to break."<sup>16</sup>

Let the reader in the states which have not as yet acted upon this matter assume a share of the responsibility for a proper decision. Study the debates reported in the *Congressional Record*, or read the discussions herein cited, and then act to prevent a decision being made by default—a decision which if concluded with no more profound attention than has been evidenced to the present may prove not only embarrassing but even disastrous.

<sup>15</sup> Henry Steele Commager, "Only Two Terms for a President?" *The New York Times Magazine* (April 27, 1947), p. 13.

<sup>16</sup> D. F. Fleming, "Presidential Two-Term Amendment," *Vital Speeches*, XIII, No. 19 (July 15, 1947), p. 607.

## Taxation

JOHN BARR

Corpus Christi, Texas

### PART I

That the quotation of Justice Holmes: "With taxes a man buys civilization," is not merely a catchy phrase is attested by a study made some years ago by a group of twenty-three scientists. This committee graded the various states of the nation according to its belief of what civilization is, and compared the results with the prevailing rates of taxation. The most "civilized" state was given a grade of 6 while the lowest grade was 1.7. The first state paid 5.3 per cent of its total income in state and local taxes and the lowest 2.4 per cent. One

measure of civilization is the amount of attention given by a society to education, health facilities, and highways. As these are largely provided at public expense, the tax rate appears to be a fair index. A very large part of our local taxes has always gone for schools and roads.

The German economist, Adolph Wagner, formulated a principle which states that as our standard of living rises, we find a larger proportion of the things we want can be provided by the government better than by individuals. This is vividly illustrated by the need for hard

roads which came along with the automobile and gave birth to the gasoline tax. In 1902 our federal, state, and local governments spent \$182 million for highways, and thirty-five years later they spent ten times as much. Education presents the same picture. As the density of population increases, so does the need of public services. This means that taxation will always take, and should take, an increasing percentage of our national income.

It has been charged that in the past all governments have perished when they took 20 per cent of the people's income in taxes. The proportion that the lower income groups can pay in taxes depends largely upon what they get in return. Modern democratic governments are more particular on that point.

However, this paper will not dwell long on the subject of civilization, but will consider taxation from the point of view of prosperity—as a means of controlling booms and depressions—and we will hope to show that it is equally potent in this respect. During the experience of the last twenty years the general public has come to identify depression with unemployment. The desire for economic security is ever becoming stronger, and taxation will be treated as a tool for providing full employment. Even when everyone is working, a great deal of unjust inequality may still exist; however, we are not seeking perfection all at once, and under such conditions the country, in general, usually feels itself prosperous, and the inequality will tend to be modified.

At one time it was thought that monetary policy alone would stabilize business. Monetary policy is the action of our banking system in controlling the amount of money in existence, by several processes at its command. The Great Depression taught us that this is not sufficient; we must use fiscal policy as well. Fiscal policy deals with the size and nature of government expenditures and the ways of meeting them.

Full employment is an indefinite concept, but a fair definition would be that it exists when everyone willing and able to work has the best job that he is able to handle. A highly skilled mechanic or a good business executive is obviously not fully employed when digging ditches. Full employment also depends upon the customs and stage of development of the

particular society in question. It may mean that all people from fifteen to seventy years of age are working sixty hours a week or that people from twenty-five to fifty-five are working forty hours a week. Our government statisticians consider the available labor force to be all those persons over fourteen years of age who are working or seeking work; at present it amounts to about 43 per cent of the total population. Reasonable full employment is generally held to be about 95 per cent of available labor which would now mean that 3,000,000 might be idle. It might be asked why these people are not entitled to a job. In the first place it will not always be the same individuals who make up the 5 per cent and their lot will be softened by unemployment insurance. Furthermore, in a progressive society there will always be a certain amount of technological unemployment as processes of production change and new commodities replace old ones. People losing their jobs for these reasons cannot at once find other places.

But how can taxation provide the greatly desired employment? This will be taken up under two headings—amount and method. They are of vital and equal importance.

Only recently has it come to be recognized that income arises from expenditure and that the two are equal. In modern society, characterized by specialization and a minute division of labor, we actually live by taking in each other's washing. One man's income is another man's expense. To enjoy a large income, then,—and this means large employment—we must have an equally large expenditure. This, government can insure by taxation and spending if private industry fails to do so. The responsibility of government to provide full employment has been accepted not only by Russia, but by most of the countries of western Europe and many others. Our own Congress sidestepped the use of the word "full," but did enact an Employment Bill in 1946 intended to work toward the same end. This bill set up a Council of Economic Advisers, which reports to the President, and he, in turn, reports to Congress.

Current wage rates and the size of the labor force being known, the amount of the national income at reasonably full employment can be determined. Expenditure can be divided into

three parts—consumer expenditure, investment expenditure, and government expenditure. Consumer expenditure from a given income will be fairly constant and the percentage is known from past experience. Investment expenditure depends largely upon the intentions of businessmen in the matter of expanding their existing plants and building new ones. This is where the Economic Advisers come in. From various sources such as trade journals, banks, insurance companies, building permits, etc., they can make a reasonable estimate of how much private investment is being planned for the year ahead. If the consumer expenditure plus the intended private investment plus the regular expenditures of government do not equal the national income that would be derived from full employment, then the government must provide the difference in extraordinary expenditure if the desired result is to be achieved. This will determine the total amount of government expenditure. Whether it should be financed entirely by taxation or partly by borrowing is another matter depending upon whether existing unemployment is mild or whether we have a very severe case of it, as in 1933. If we begin with a state of full employment as we now have, adequate funds can be obtained through taxation, but if we begin in a state of deep depression, borrowing will be necessary.

This is an important point and should be fully explained. It is the spending of money that creates employment. Men cannot be put to work unless someone spends money. The idea that: "We cannot spend our way back to prosperity" was the greatest hoax that anyone ever attempted to perpetrate on a trusting public. It is the only way that it can be done. We measure our prosperity by the amount of money we spend. Bank clearings have long been a fairly good index of business activity.

A government cannot increase employment by taking in taxes, money that its citizens would spend if not so taken. It can increase employment only by taking that money which would otherwise remain unspent, and by far the most of this will be found in the upper income brackets. In case of deep depression, the national income will be small and the need for expenditure great. Under these circumstances (which existed in 1933), there would not be enough idle

money from current income to put all idle men to work. Sufficient hoards from past saving might possibly exist, but no practical and acceptable way has yet been devised for the government to get at them. When income is high and unemployment mild, if the money going into hoards is taken in taxes and spent, the men who are idle can be put to work.

When money cannot be obtained by taxation, it must be created. The banks create money when they make loans, and the government by borrowing from the banks can inject new money into the business stream. To do a certain amount of business, a country needs a corresponding amount of money. Our stock of money consists of bank deposits plus the coin and paper money outside of banks, that is, held in the personal possession of individuals and business firms. For instance, in 1929 when business activity was high, we had \$55 billion in money, but by 1933 this had gone down to \$42 billion, and by 1940, when we were back to doing about the same amount of business that we had been doing in 1929, we had \$67 billion. In 1929 there was practically no idle money; that is, idle money was not apparent, but a great deal of money was being used in speculation and this money had the same economic effect as idle money in that it put no one to work. In 1940 there was \$10 billion idle. There is no precise relationship between business activity and the amount of money needed, but in general the rule holds good. We will not understand our money supply clearly until we are able to determine how much is idle, how much is being used in business, and how much in speculation. Those three quantities make up the total and each is of vital importance.

Conversely, if bank loans are repaid, the amount of money is reduced. It would have been most difficult to have restored prosperity in 1933 without deficit spending. When we created money by borrowing, we merely replenished the stock so severely depleted by the collapse of 1929, and in the ensuing greater business activity the existence of this money was absolutely necessary. It is true that in 1932 our supply of money had not dwindled so much proportionally as had the national income. The trouble was that so much of the money was



owned by people who would not use it. There was little incentive to invest in new factories when many of the factories in existence were operating at 20 per cent of capacity. Under such conditions, the government must not only create money, but must see that it gets into the hands of the lower income groups who will be sure to spend it for consumption goods.

This goes to show that it is not necessary—in fact it would invite trouble—if the loans were repaid without being replaced with new ones. Of course, the effect would be the same whether the loans were contracted by the government or by private business. This whole discussion assumes that the government is acting only to restore full employment that has broken down through the failure of private business to maintain it, or is threatening to break down.

Whether it is best for government to raise money by taxation or borrowing also depends upon whether we are in a deflationary or inflationary period. Inflation (rising prices) occurs when the stock of money is increasing faster than stocks of goods. When, at the depth of the depression, the government began borrowing on a large scale, many people, including some of our leading economists, feared that we would soon encounter a dangerous inflation. This did not occur; we did not get back to the general price level of 1929 until 1942 when we were in the war and had reached full employment. This was because we had so much idle equipment and so many idle men. The effect was that a small rise in the price of goods would be met by increased production, which in turn would tend to keep prices down. Prices do rise gradually during a recovery period, but they do not reach the point of wild inflation. But at full employment we are always on the precarious edge of inflation. This was taken care of during the war by governmental control of prices. When these controls were removed in the summer of 1946, prices immediately shot upward. It has been said that production is the answer to inflation. The trouble with this is that we are threatened with inflation only when we are fully employed and it is very difficult to increase production because we have no idle men to put to work in idle factories. The real answer to inflation is tax-

tion, with the paying off of bank loans. This reduces purchasing power and the effective demand for goods. Another answer to inflation is restraint on the part of the people in buying.

Wars are usually partially financed by much borrowing from the banks and at the end of a war we have a larger stock of money than the country needs, even for the full operation of business. We now have about \$170 billion. We would be better off today had we taxed ourselves more heavily during the war. President Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie both advocated higher taxes, but Congress slapped them down by overriding President Roosevelt's veto of an inadequate bill. Wartime taxes should therefore not be reduced, except as they bear on the subsistence of the lowest income groups, so long as inflation threatens. But when the opposite condition of deflation threatens, or we are in a deflated period, taxes should be lightened (in the lower brackets but not in the higher ones), and borrowing resorted to.

As has been said, the idea of the government's responsibility for maintaining prosperity is comparatively new and completely at variance with the old theories. The classical economists were more of the opinion that all taxes were bad and that government was a necessary evil; this is still the judgment of many people. There are those who hold that each family should educate its own children privately and that each man should pave the street in front of his own house. Too many people still believe that all money paid out in taxes is completely lost—that they get nothing at all in return for it. To most of us, this attitude is ridiculous. Taxes for maintenance of fire departments reduce our insurance payments, and good roads reduce the upkeep of cars. Public services are often sound economy. Government inspection of meat may prevent serious illness. Typhoid, yellow fever, tuberculosis, and malaria have been greatly reduced by other public services. The question is not can we afford to have them, but can we afford not to. The desire for government inspection is not all one-sided. Processors of food have requested inspection of their plants so that they can advertise the fact on the labels of their cans.

Admitting this much, our more rugged individualists fall back upon the claim that taxes

should be held to a minimum because government is wasteful and corrupt as compared with private industry. They often reach this conclusion by comparing the worst examples of government with the best examples of industry. The meat packers utilize every bit of the hog except the squeal, and manufacturing as a whole has reached a high degree of efficiency. But in other branches of industry, waste has been notorious. Charles Beard spoke of our "land and mineral resources in private hands as being denuded and depleted in the most extraordinary carnival of waste yet recorded in all history." In 1915 Louis Brandeis offered to show the railroads where they were wasting a million dollars every day. The Brookings Institute estimated that in 1929 this country could have produced 25 per cent more than it did—using the existing plants and prevailing methods of production. Secretary Anderson told us that the United States will become a second-rate nation if it does not reclaim its exhausted and eroded farm lands. And the waste arising from the great inequality of incomes is exemplified not only in the idle rich and the debilitated poor, but in its effects upon the fluctuations of business activity.

Idleness, beyond a reasonable desire for leisure, is the greatest waste of all. "Time is money." If today's labor is not used today, it is gone forever. In 1932 there were 15 million unemployed people and our national income was \$40 billion less than it had been in 1929. Deducting one third as an allowance for the fall in prices we had a real loss of \$26 billion. The federal budget never reached the \$10 billion mark in the 1930's, so that if the entire amount for any one year had been completely wasted, the loss would not have been half as great as we actually suffered in 1932. This money loss does not take into account the general demoralization due to prolonged idleness, nor the loss of skills therefrom. No wonder that people are concerned about employment.

In the opinion of Professor Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina, "America's greatest waste is reflected in the vast potential power of millions of youths, undeveloped and untrained, moving through life without sensing their abilities or maturing their capacities, oblivious of the wide reaches of opportunity."

This is a great loss to the nation as well as to the individuals and the condition could be cured by more public education.

Such important aids to efficiency as the preparation of budgets and the scientific selection of personnel originated in government practice and were later adopted in private business. No private business is more efficiently managed than the TVA. Private business could not build the Panama Canal, but the United States Government did.

As to the corruption of government John T. Flynn in his book *Graft in Business* tells us, with all the emphasis at his command, that the political crook is a mere amateur as compared with his brother in private business. And he gives plenty of evidence. So, do not be overwhelmed when your neighbor plays his ace by speaking in horror of the waste and corruption of government. No doubt there is much more of it than there should be, but the government is not the only, nor yet the worst, offender.

Thus far we have dealt with the amount of taxation which has not been given in definite figures, but which is the sum necessary to maintain full employment and which can at least be roughly estimated. It is a curious circumstance that no people have ever boasted more of their government and trusted and respected it less than have Americans. But we have also tried to show that our government can be trusted with huge sums.

We will now take up the method of taxation and show that if the method is not correct, the amount may be either futile or highly dangerous. Taxes may be levied for revenue only, or for regulatory purposes. The old theory was that government should not regulate business. The functions of government then being few, the expenses and taxes would be low. It was asserted that "the power to tax is the power to destroy." But this attitude has gradually disappeared. We have come to believe that the real function of government is to promote the general welfare by any equitable program, and admit the responsibility of government for the maintenance of full employment, which may, at times, call for enormous expenditures. That the power to tax is also the power to sustain and keep alive is shown by our own political experience. The Articles of Confederation were

discarded and replaced by the Constitution because, under the Articles, the government was not able to finance itself.

Various maxims of taxation have been proposed, the most famous of which are those of Adam Smith. He advocates that taxes should be in arithmetical proportion to the payer's income. This was his idea of ability to pay. He also laid down the rules that taxes should be convenient, certain, and not arbitrary as to time, manner of payment, and amount to be paid, and that the cost of collection should be as low as possible. All of these principles are still generally accepted except that there is a wide difference of opinion over the concept of "ability to pay." It is now believed by most people that ability to pay should be progressive rather than proportional—that taxes should increase faster than income and the real question in dispute is, how much faster? The rule of proportion means that the relative financial position of the payers is not changed. Progressive taxation does not change a man's position in the income scale, although it brings all closer together.

Three main arguments have been advanced in support of the progressive principle. They are,

1. The need of exempting the minimum of subsistence.
2. The law of the diminishing utility of income.
3. The law of the diminishing cost of income.

As to exemptions, it is obvious that it is futile to tax a man with one hand and extend relief to him with the other. But this argument has been extended much further and holds that taxation should not weaken the productive ability of the individual. This means that a certain amount of income is necessary to maintain the man himself and his dependents in sufficiently good health for him to continue his work. Any income in excess of enough to evoke the worker's best effort is said to be surplus and it is from this surplus that taxes should be taken. This principle is followed, at least to some extent, in our present income tax laws, as exemptions are granted for the individual, his dependents, medical expenses etc.

The law of diminishing utility is well known in economic theory and states that as we acquire more and more units of any commodity each additional unit is of somewhat less value to us

than the immediately preceding one. An illustration frequently used is that of the small boy and ice cream cones. The boy might give his last nickel for the first cone but after he has eaten five or six, the next one is not nearly so attractive. And so it is with income. The man with \$10,000 a year will not miss \$1,000 nearly so much as the man with only \$1,000 will miss \$100. *It is what you have left that counts.* The beauty of the income tax is that when you have no income, no tax is levied upon you, and the man who pays the most has the most left. While we may not be able to decipher exact ability to pay by the higher mathematics (and this has been attempted), nor determine it by the application of rigid logic, yet in due time a good working arrangement could be discovered by a "cut and try" method. If the progressive principle is properly applied, the payment of taxes will be equally painful to all.

The law of the diminishing cost of income is simple. It says that the more money a man has, the easier it is for him to make money. We all agree pretty well with John D. Rockefeller that the first \$1,000 is the hardest. The law gives solid support to the progressive principle.

While it is true that progressive taxation has been widely accepted by students of public finance, those in whose interest it is to keep the rate of progression low still oppose it and use three main arguments against it,

1. Income taxes are passed on to the consumer.
2. They destroy incentive.
3. They prevent the formation of capital.

The first of these statements is not used now nearly so much as formerly. It used to be said that if Rockefeller's income taxes were raised, he would simply add a cent a gallon to the price of gasoline. When it was pointed out that this price had always been set at the point which would yield the maximum profit and that Mr. Rockefeller would not have had to wait until his taxes were raised in order to advance the price, this argument was largely abandoned. The idea was that business firms were in the habit of making so much per year and that if their taxes were raised, they in turn would raise their prices. But business firms are not in the habit of making a definite amount each year. They are in the habit of making all they can under prevailing conditions, and earnings vary greatly from year to year.



Federal Judge W. R. Green, who was for some years chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, has said that "of the numerous persons who appeared before this committee asking that income tax rates be reduced, none ever claimed that the tax was shifted." If it can be shifted, why should the person asked to pay complain about it?

The second and a more important objection to progressive taxation is that it kills incentive. Men say; "Why should we work hard and take risks in business if the government takes all that we make?" This sounds logical, but it is not supported by statistics. Never were taxes so high nor business activity so great, in peacetime, as in the three years that have elapsed since V-J day. If incentive has not been impaired in three years, how long will it take? Another way of looking at it is that men work and make all the money they can, no matter what the conditions may be—and the government never takes all. John Stuart Mill held that: "Men do not desire to be *rich*, but to be richer than other men." Highly progressive income taxes will not destroy that opportunity.

Because they are interested in what they are doing or because they do not know how to retire, many men continue to work after they have made enough money for all personal needs. There is little to show that any have ever quit on account of income taxes. But even if they did, it would just mean more income for younger men still on the make. At present, most large incomes come from ownership of property rather than from labor in any form, and the discouragement of personal exertion would not affect them. Furthermore, much of the talent from which big incomes come, does not go in for production. It appears in speculation, the attaining of monopolistic advantage, and the promotion of financial coups. Also, much is said of the incentive to produce, but very little is said of the incentive to close down the factories and maintain prices by limiting production when the business situation looks bad.

As to the taking of risks, one of the greatest risks in business is that of being ruined in a business depression. If, by a particular method of taxation, full employment can be maintained, this great risk can be reduced to a minimum. It may well be worth more than it costs.

At the present time, the most used argument against progressive taxation is that it prevents the formation of capital and that the welfare of the whole world depends solely upon the growth of capital. It is said that large incomes should not be depleted by taxation because capital comes from saving, and saving comes mostly from the large incomes. The argument can be countered in several ways. Much progress can be made without saving—it comes from science and invention. If more money is needed in business it can be obtained from the banks. If the loans are repaid from earnings there has been saving, but if they are repaid from depreciation allowances, as in many cases they well could be, no saving would be involved. In case of unemployment, which has been the usual prevailing condition in the past, progress could be made by putting the idle men to work. *It would be much better to progress by eliminating the waste of idleness than by curtailing the satisfaction of our wants.* It is true, however, that at full employment, saving (smaller consumption) is necessary if we are to use more labor in the making of capital goods. At full employment, if we want more of one thing, we must take less of something else. We should remember this when considering housing.

Perhaps people would prefer to enjoy more things as they go along and progress somewhat less rapidly. As Eric Johnston, the czar of the movies, has said; "Perhaps we should deny ourselves everything but the barest necessities. But if so, for what purpose did we create this elaborate machinery for mass production?" It is always the poorer people who are forced to abstain in order to save. From large incomes saving can be made without deprivation. Our progress would be just as great in the long run if we moved more slowly and steadily. The mile runner does not sprint a hundred yards, then rest, and then sprint another hundred. We must emphasize the point that private enterprise either cannot or will not maintain a high rate of investment indefinitely—else why has our whole history been one of booms and busts?

The absolute amount of saving would probably not be reduced as much as is feared. With wider distribution of income, the savings, instead of accumulating in a few large accounts, would be found in many more smaller accounts. And if the wider distribution resulted in fuller

employment (and we claim that it would) there would always be a larger national income from which to draw. Contrary to the arguments so often heard, a wider distribution of wealth would not merely take from some and give to others. It would actually increase production and give us a bigger pie to divide.

At the end of the war predictions were freely made by some economists that our corporations would not be able to reconvert to peacetime production and expand their plants to satisfy our accumulated shortages because the government had bled them white with wartime taxation. The claim was, and still is being, made that business is starved for want of capital. Newspaper headlines tell us nearly every day that high taxation is ruining the country. In 1948 industrial production per capita was 25 per cent more than it was in 1929, the most prosperous year we ever had up to that time, and in the last three years \$50 billion have been found somewhere for capital purposes. Does that sound like ruination? Furthermore, there is such a thing as government investment. Perhaps we could have too much private investment in machinery for making gadgets and too little government investment in low-cost housing and in facilities for health and education. Taxation can result in forced saving. It is estimated that \$50 billion are needed to bring highways and other public works up to par. Why should the needs of private business be given complete priority over the usual needs of public business?

After every war we have more money than the country needs. We now have many billions in war bonds which could be converted into money if their holders wished to do so. We are told that corporations are having difficulty raising venture capital (which means the selling of common stocks). There is no lack of money in the country. If common stocks are not attractive during a period of rising prices and profits, it is because there is fear of depression in the not-too-distant future. If this fear was removed, the demand for common stocks would rise sharply. It is the purpose of this paper to show that a depression could be prevented by a proper and adequate system of taxation.

The collapse in 1929 did not come because of lack of capital for risk investment. There is nothing more risky than dealing in common

stocks on a 10 per cent margin, and there was plenty of money available for that purpose.

The scarcity of venture capital for *new enterprises*, if the scarcity exists at all, may be due to the fact that so much of our saving is being done by corporations (retained earnings), and so much of our individual saving is being handled by insurance companies. Well-established corporations and insurance companies are apt to be cautious. The claim that high taxation produces a shortage of capital is mostly an assertion—there is little or no statistical evidence to support it.

With everyone employed, what would the corporations do with the money if they had it, except bid labor and materials away from each other as is known to be happening, and by so doing promote inflation. It is a historical fact that consumption and the formation of capital go up and down together. The Brookings Institute holds that the demand for capital goods is derived from the demand for consumer goods. At full employment the production of capital goods can only be increased at the expense of consumer goods. But if consumption falls off, it will kill the incentive to invest. Consumption and production must proceed together. If one gets too far ahead of the other, trouble arises. In the past, production has too often got ahead of consumption.

Before the Great Depression, recovery had nearly always started with increased investment, but this was because increased consumption can come first only by means of government action; before the 1930's government had never taken the initiative in overcoming a depression. Depressions become worse as a country becomes industrialized, and in 1933 conditions were so bad that government was forced to intervene. Nothing can bring Communism to this country quicker than another serious depression. Our conservative statesmen pay lip service to the tremendous importance of maintaining prosperity in the United States, but they give us precious little information as to how they are going to do it.

Goods must be sold as quickly as they are produced; otherwise warehouses fill up and factories close down. When we produce more goods than the mass of the people can buy with the money that they have, we have the alternative of giving the surplus to foreign countries

(as we did in the prosperous 1920's, in exchange for worthless bonds) or of giving it to our own lower income groups, either as governmental gifts financed by taxation, or through the medium of higher wages. The statesmen just mentioned do not wish to do either. They would like to dispose of the surplus goods abroad in exchange for gold which they would add to the 23 billion dollars' worth we already have in a hole in Kentucky.

It has been bluntly asserted that: "The accumulation of capital is the prime need of every country, and is out of all comparison more important than its mere distribution." If this is indeed the case, if capital is to be desired above all else, then a totalitarian form of government

would be the best. This is because a dictator can force his people to accept a very low standard of living and devote a great deal of their energy to the building of machinery. This is what the Soviet government has done in the past and is probably still doing. A system of free-enterprise has never yet been able to maintain a high rate of investment for more than about eight years at a stretch. It is even doubtful if a dictator could do it without convincing his people of the desirability of huge armaments either through fear of invasion as Stalin did in the 1930's (and with reason), or through the glory of military power, as did Hitler.

*(To be concluded in the next issue)*

## News and Comment

LEONARD B. IRWIN

*Principal, High School, Haddon Heights, New Jersey*

### EDUCATION AND THE BUSINESSMAN

Education has always been a favorite target for certain types of businessmen. Chambers of Commerce and especially many so-called "taxpayers' " associations (which are often merely the representatives of a few large corporations) periodically view with alarm the growth of school costs and the quality of the educational product. They make a point of questioning the ability of the public to support higher salaries for teachers or better buildings and equipment. They are fond of pointing out how "inferior" the modern child is to those of their own generation in the fundamentals of writing, spelling, arithmetic and history.

Of course, any citizen or group of citizens, no matter how prejudiced or self-interested, has the right to express an opinion on the expenditure of public funds. Yet it becomes more than a little amusing occasionally to note the solicitude which these big-business representatives show for possible extravagance in education, while carefully ignoring the misuse of funds in those departments of government that are in a position to do favors for business. Rarely do we find these permanent tax-

payers' associations demanding retrenchment and greater efficiency in state and local administrations, for they must work hand-in-hand with their personnel. The schools, on the contrary, represent merely a large expenditure of tax money from which business sees little commensurate benefit to its profits; education is of concern only to children, teachers and parents.

Perhaps there are many business leaders who hold more far-sighted and unselfish views, but there are still enough reactionaries to keep business public relations groups on the anti-education side of the fence. The striking fact about it is not that these people are so blatantly activated by selfish motives; that is not by any means the sole prerogative of businessmen. The strangest fact is that these men do not see that they are opposing their own best interests when they decry expenditures for education. It is doubly strange in a class which is usually so sensitive to good public relations and so skilful in developing its markets.

Will Hayes, professor of education at the University of California, wrote a short and generally excellent article on this matter in *The Rotarian* for January. It was addressed to



businessmen (who compose the bulk of Rotary memberships) and stated some very pertinent facts about the importance of education to business. The gist of his argument was the simple and well-proven truth that the amount of the average person's income depends on the extent of his education. Since it is obvious that the market for industry's products and services depends on the public income, it follows that the future welfare of business rests upon a public well-enough educated to want the products and to earn money to buy them. These sound like very elementary principles of economics and logic, yet a vast number of businessmen have never grasped them.

Professor Hayes pointed out several facts which are better known to educators than to the general public. For example, the areas of high per capita retail sales are also those of high educational attainment, and vice versa. Also, people of good income and education prefer to live in communities which support superior school systems. Professor Hayes pointed out that modern courses (often criticized as frills) in health, housing, home economics and consumer education all help to make the future buying public more conscious of the products and services which business has to sell. Educated people are more eager to consult doctors and dentists, to buy quality goods, to own good homes and to spend money on those products which form the backbone of business profits—and they can afford to do so. To quote the article: "If you're an American businessman, the amount you pay each year for school taxes represents considerably less than one per cent of your advertising budget, yet indirectly it generates one of the most potent selling forces you have." This lesson is one that business needs to learn for its own benefit and that of society at large.

Professor Hayes concluded his article by suggesting that businessmen might make education their business by seeing to it that men of vision are elected to school boards, and by supporting, instead of opposing, increases in school revenues needed to improve education. He also suggested that they take a personal interest in the schools and see if more efficient methods can be applied to them. As an example of the type of proposal they might care to make, Professor Hayes mentioned the lengthening of the

school day by a couple of hours. Perhaps this was intended as a bit of sugar-coating, since the public is often inclined to consider the teacher's days as the number of minutes spent in the classroom.

But does Professor Hayes or anyone else who proposes a material increase in the daily school session consider the far-reaching effects of such a move? Presumably, the added hours would have to be used for additional instruction if they were to serve their purpose. This would increase costs and complicate curriculum problems for the individual pupil and the school. Costs of supplies and maintenance would be greater; athletics and other after-school activities would be curtailed or eliminated; pupils living long distances from school would get home much later and have less time with their families. The many pupils who hold after-school jobs could no longer do so, thus removing a substantial part of their incomes and creating many problems for parents and employers. Without such employment many pupils would give up their schooling sooner than would be otherwise necessary. These are but a few of the effects that could naturally result from a substantial increase in the school day. Professor Hayes would have done better to have omitted this suggestion from an otherwise timely and forceful article.

#### FUNDAMENTAL STANDARDS

As was mentioned above, one of the most popular types of criticism currently aimed at the public schools is the charge that pupils are being turned out who are defective in such skills as writing, spelling and arithmetic. This accusation is frequently heard from parents, employers and even teachers. A columnist in a Philadelphia paper recently had quite a bit of fun over the matter. The inability of certain Philadelphia children of his acquaintance to do simple sums or write a grammatical composition provided him with material for several amusing pieces.

It is of course true that laymen who glibly pounce on these inadequacies as a left-handed means of opposing increased expenditure of school money overlook some vital points. They ignore the fact that schools today must accept the children of all the people, regardless of their ability or interests; that in many places, schools are seriously overcrowded because of inade-

quate public support; and that the people require the modern school to teach a far greater variety of accomplishments than were ever expected a generation or two ago. It should hardly be wondered at that when education's efforts must be spread so widely, these efforts may lose in depth as they gain in scope. But in spite of these reasonable defenses, our schools will remain vulnerable to attack as long as we grant high school diplomas to 18-year-old young people who cannot write or speak correct English or use the fundamental operations of arithmetic quickly and accurately. Probably a minority of graduates fall in this category, but they are the ones who provide the horrible examples which are publicized. The school rarely gets the credit for the well-educated child, but it is usually charged with the failures.

It is not enough for educators to show logical reasons why high school graduates are sometimes deficient in these standard skills. The cold fact remains that by the time a youth has completed twelve grades of school and has been given the accolade of the school's final approval he should not be lacking in the use of either simple English or simple arithmetic. The need for the daily practice of these things is as great now as it ever was. When the school neglects them for other phases of education, no matter how valuable, it is providing sound ground for criticism which carries over to the entire program.

An interesting possibility would be the introduction of a basic fundamentals' test as a necessary qualification for high school graduation. Such a test could be given at stated intervals as College Board examinations are, and might be open to pupils in any year of high school. Thus, the better pupils could dispose of it early, while the weaker ones would have ample opportunity for re-tests and additional preparation for them. The tests should not be difficult, but the required passing grade should be a very high one. The tests would consist of brief practical demonstrations of the pupils' ability to use the required skills. Command of written English could be tested by the writing of a letter, report or explanatory composition on some simple assigned subject. The arithmetic test would require accurate answers within a reasonable time to a few real-life problems involving basic

operations. If the tests were graded independently by a committee of teachers who had previously agreed on the standard of achievement to be required, a high degree of objectivity would be insured.

Whether such a plan is used in any public high school is unknown to the writer. It might present some difficulties of administration not apparent at the moment. But it appears to offer a reasonable and defensible screening process which would protect the school from the more flagrant instances of poor training with its resulting criticism. The test would be a low, but would constitute a necessary hurdle over which all pupils would have to jump—a test such as each of them will have to face day in and day out after graduation from school. Evidently we cannot safely assume that in progressing through the regular curriculum every pupil will achieve these minimum essentials. The public does have a right to expect them, and the school cannot afford to minimize their importance while seeking higher goals. By all means let our schools continue to develop democratic, well-adjusted and well-informed citizens, but let them make sure also that the basic skills are not overlooked.

#### HISTORY FOR THE MIDDLE-AGED

There are many kinds of writers who draw upon the story of the past for their basic materials. There are the historical scholars who write principally for other scholars and who use the whole range of man's history for their work. There are the literary historians who analyze what others have written before them and philosophize upon what they find. There are the historical novelists who turn chiefly to the great periods of so-called "romantic adventure" for their cloak-and-sword costume narratives. Each kind of historical writing has its circle of devoted readers, but seldom do these circles overlap. The interests of one do not appeal to another. Not often, for instance, will those who enjoy the latest novel of picaresque adventure in fifteenth century Florence also delight in Symonds' classic study of the Italian Renaissance; nor will the reader of a book in eighteenth century music be apt also to choose one on the political wars of Europe of the same period. The writer who treats of the past must, with one exception, be content to

appeal to that limited audience whose interests coincide with his.

The single exception is one that many canny historians have recognized and exploited, to their profit. For it is a simple fact of human nature that the one part of the past that interests everybody over 40 years of age is the period when he was young. To the middle-aged no era of history is so irresistibly fascinating as the first twenty years of his life. The average American has a deep nostalgia for what he thinks of as "the good old days" and welcomes eagerly anything which helps to recreate them in his memory. Childhood books, old magazines and old tunes are cherished. Movie producers have recognized the appeal of such pictures as "Margie," "Meet Me in St. Louis," and scores of others whose scenes were laid in the early years of the century. Television directors who program old-time movies are not relying on an audience created merely by the novelty of the medium; they realize that many of their viewers are middle-aged people who thoroughly enjoy seeing again the movies they saw as children and who look at them once more, as it were, through the eyes of youth.

So it is with books. The writer who can use as his subject something of general interest in the period between twenty-five and fifty years ago has a ready-made audience. If he presents his material skilfully, its success is assured, for he is tapping the greatest common denominator of all types and classes of readers—their fond memories for the days when they were growing up. Such authors as Walter Millis, Frederick Lewis Allen, Bellamy Partridge and David Cohn, to mention only a very few that come to mind at random, have written books

whose popular appeal is out of all proportion to the importance of the historical material treated. Mark Sullivan in his *Our Times* recognized the fascination of the past generation when he devoted so much of his space to the simple things that his middle-aged readers would remember most fondly. Even the most serious scholars have been known to succumb to the universal demand; recently, for example, Henry Steele Commager edited a delightful anthology of stories from the old *St. Nicholas Magazine*, once the loved companion of so many children a generation and more ago. Sooner or later some clever editor will find a way to offer a tempting collection of Horatio Alger, Oliver Optic, G. A. Henty, the Rover Boys, Tom Swift, and Frank Merriwell stories. When he does, his only problem might be a paper shortage.

There is probably no useful lesson to be drawn from the observation of this phenomenon. It merely proves a truism—that everyone is interested in history if he can personally identify himself with it, especially as a youngster. It is singularly unfortunate that history teachers cannot utilize this human trait more fully in their classrooms, for it would provide excellent motivation for historical studies. Youth's interest in the past is necessarily academic, however. Nostalgia is principally a disease of middle age and its usefulness to historians can rarely be adapted to the high school textbook. There is somehow a great deal of sober truth in Shaw's famous remark that "youth is such a wonderful thing that it is a pity to waste it on the young." For after all there are so many more people who seem to appreciate it in retrospect.

## Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Frankford High School, Philadelphia

*A Short History of Civilization*. Second Edition. By Lynn Thorndike. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948. Pp. xiii, 751. Illustrated. \$6.50.

It may be said that the first edition of this book represented something in the way of a

pioneering achievement. World culture was the theme. Rejecting those "old and oft-repeated tales of destruction," Dr. Thorndike, in 1926, brought out a work which was then almost unique. During the interval which has gone by since this pioneering effort, however, college



courses in the history of civilization have become popular, and consequently, numerous textbooks dealing with the subject have appeared.

And now, after a second world conflict, Dr. Thorndike brings out his revision.

In this revision, the least change is evident in the part having to do with ancient civilizations. Recognition, both of archaeological discoveries and of the findings of historical research, of course, necessitated certain minor changes.

Of the forty-eight chapters, twenty-four, assembled into five "books," are devoted to "Ancient Civilizations." The chapters under "Modern Civilizations" have been increased from eighteen to twenty-four. Not only do these chapters bring the narrative forward from 1925 to 1948, but also the content is amplified. As the author has no special division labeled "Medieval Civilization," it is evident that he considers civilizations to exist in only two categories. To him, they are either "ancient" or "modern."

Dr. Thorndike's treatment of the Napoleonic era is vastly more understanding than that of H. G. Wells in his *Outline of History*. Wells, for instance, after disparaging Napoleon as inconsequential, launches into such a tirade against the Corsican that the disquisition probably takes more space than is allowed to any other individual in the *Outline*.

The author of *A Short History of Civilization*, nevertheless, after displaying commendable objectivity, proves at the last to be almost as subjective as Wells. He closes his otherwise excellent treatise with an amazing poem (?), the final four lines of which read as follows:

America! America!

Let all the people come,

And help to make America

Humanity's true home.

This reviewer is of the opinion that, under such circumstances, America—supposedly the United States—would, indeed, prove to be humanity's true "hum." Many will agree that this sophomoric inanity, with its chauvinistic touch, brings about an inharmonious ending.

The volume is well-supplied with illustrations, but a greater number of maps might be helpful. Each chapter is followed by a bibliography, and there is a general bibliography,

also. The index appears to be complete.

J. F. SANTEE

Oregon College of Education  
Monmouth, Oregon

*United States History*. By Fremont P. Wirth.  
New York: American Book Company, 1948.  
Pp. xl, xliii, 734. Illustrated. \$3.40.

In this volume, Dr. Wirth, of the George Peabody College for Teachers, has prepared a splendid history of the United States for secondary school use. He has undertaken a difficult task. It was his over-all aim to select from the great amount of material which comprises the body of American history those facts and trends which would best illuminate the American present in light of the American past. In achieving this goal, Dr. Wirth has chosen to emphasize the decades of the twentieth century. Of a total of forty chapters, fifteen are devoted to this period. However, the author has not condensed his account of the colonial and national period prior to 1900 to the point where important material has been eliminated. Rather, only unnecessary detail has been removed.

In the organization of his material Dr. Wirth has divided our country's history into ten units; the first begins with a discussion of the European background of American colonization, and the last concludes with a description of the Marshall Plan and of the work of the United Nations. In addition, the author has arranged his material so that it may be considered topically as well as chronologically. Thus, certain chapters in each unit are devoted largely to a consideration either of political or economic or cultural development and trends. Clearly, this permits the classroom teacher to prepare either a chronological or topical presentation of the material. Throughout, it has been Dr. Wirth's purpose to maintain a balance and achieve a unity in a consideration of the many facets of American history. These objectives are attained in this book to the stimulation of both teacher and student.

The numerous teaching aids found at the end of each chapter are a notable feature of this book which will be valued by teachers. These were prepared by Dr. Louise Capen, author of *Across the Ages*, a secondary school world history. These aids are varied and designed obviously to meet the needs and interest of a compos-

ite classroom group. Questions and identification quizzes have been prepared to further the mastery of the chapter content; bibliographies which are an excellent blend of documentary materials, general and specialized collateral readings, and biographies and historical fiction are suggested to encourage continued reading; topics have been added to stimulate analytical thinking, and classroom and library activities are suggested to enrich the experience and add to the understandings of the individuals and groups who will participate in them. A teacher may well work through these aids for several years before their resources have been fully understood and evaluated; it is doubtful that the values derived from them will be readily exhausted.

The content of the various chapters is presented clearly and concisely. One is convinced that considerable time was spent in integrating the factual material of this textbook. It lends itself readily to the preparation of basic study outlines. Moreover major recent interpretations of American history are included; for instance, in the consideration of both the American Revolution and the Civil War, economic and social developments and trends are given equal consideration with the political. In the discussion of the causes of the American Revolution a similar balance is struck between the ideological, constitutional, political, economic and social factors which have been cited by various specialists. The style is characterized by succinctness of statement; little of the descriptive detail which can become burdensome in a textbook is included. On the other hand, concrete examples illuminate the generalizations. For instance, the discussion of the rise of American business in the post-Civil War years is illustrated by a short, factual account of the development of the Standard Oil Company. Few students will turn from this textbook in discouragement, for the material can be grasped and understood readily. To expedite further the attainment of this objective, the author has inserted previews before each unit.

In physical appearance this is an attractive book. It is covered in a blue cloth, illustrations and maps taken from well-known collections are supplied generously, and in the later chapters, photographs of important personalities

and events are numerous. A basic chronological outline which takes the student from A. D. 1001 to April, 1948, a copy of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and a rather complete index are appended to the textbook. Possibly, excerpts from original sources might have been interspersed in the text to provide an appreciation of the contemporary scene.

This is a superior work. It deserves and in all probability will be accorded wide use and reading.

MAHLON H. HELLERICH

Elizabethtown College  
Elizabethtown, Pa.

---

*The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848.* Volume V of *A History of the South*. By Charles S. Sydnor, Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. Pp. 400, \$6.00.

In his recent book, *The South Old and New*, Francis Butler Simkins took cognizance of the myriad theories that have been suggested to explain the "solidarity" of the Southern mind. The concept of white supremacy, which Ulrich B. Phillips viewed as the central theme of Southern history, the "country-gentleman ideal," as well as the emphasis upon the survival of a relatively homogeneous population and a predominantly rural ethos, were at various times considered to be the forces of cohesive sentiment. In tracing the origins and development of Southern sectionalism, Charles S. Sydnor, Professor of History at Duke University, has reviewed an even more familiar underlying motive.

The spirit of particularism, the author maintains, occupies a pivotal position in the history of the South, although it is not necessarily confined to that region or to the United States. Sectionalism is essentially the attribute of any conscious minority which feels that its individual identity has been endangered when fused with a larger unit. While properly stressing the universality of the localistic attitude, Dr. Sydnor nevertheless believes that the antebellum South gave classic expression to its clearest and most extremely developed form. Between the years 1819 and 1948, the chronological limits of this book, the relationship of the South to the nation experienced profound

reorientation. The South on the eve of Zachary Taylor's accession to the presidency felt that much of its former importance in the shaping of federal policies had been lost. The realignment of political forces which followed the decline of the Virginia Dynasty and the disruption of the old, all-pervasive Republican party, in the opinion of the author, "greatly reduced the influence of the South in national politics."

At times this interpretation can be overstressed. For example, an examination of the composition of the major national offices immediately before and after the period under discussion indicates no startling change in the sectional scales. In 1818, during the Monroe administration, when the South ostensibly was still influential, the President, Speaker of the House, and *three* members of the Cabinet resided in Southern or border states giving full legal protection to the institution of slavery. During the year 1849, after the South was considered to have lost significant ground and a Whig general occupied the White House, a corresponding survey reveals that the President, one of the two Speakers, and *four* cabinet officials were residents of the slave states. Certainly, in the federal judiciary, the death of Chief Justice John Marshall and the appointment of a states' rights Democrat, Roger B. Taney, who curiously is not mentioned in the book, was not to the disadvantage of the South. These facets of the situation have not received adequate attention in this present study. On the other hand, the portrait of the defensive position of the South—the extent to which the slaveholders were unable to protect themselves against the machinations of an "abolitionized North"—is perhaps too sharply drawn. One must not forget that even in the lower House of Congress, where Northern predominance gradually emerged, many of the Southern states voluntarily relinquished a potential source of population strength by requiring Negroes to leave upon being manumitted.

Throughout the discussions of Southern society, the reader is made constantly aware of two basic conditions—variation and dynamic change. In spite of the acknowledged common interests shared by the states below the Mason-Dixon line, Dr. Sydnor successfully rejects the notion that the entire area was cast from a single mold. Regarding such questions as "the

merits of the Whig and Democratic parties, . . . slavery, . . . the Union, and . . . a host of other subjects," there was honest diversity of opinion. While the Southern people failed to keep pace with many of the changes that were taking shape in the nation as a whole, the society was not internally static. The westward expansion of population, the relative decline of the tobacco states and the simultaneous rise of the cotton belt in political circles, the increasing efforts to limit the activities of the central government, the introduction of elements of urban industrialism, and the emergence of an argument of defense with respect to the institution of slavery, were all indicative of basic trends in the ante-bellum pattern of the South.

One of the major problems inherent in any sectional history is that of striking a working balance between the local and national issues affecting regional development. Detailed reference to many of the incidents having federal implications which have been explored in countless other studies is not always justifiable. Perhaps part of the space given to such topics as the Missouri Compromise and the nullification controversy could have been allotted to additional aspects of internal society. More detailed commentaries on recreational activities, dueling, library facilities, and journalism (the latter being sketched primarily in the critical essay on authorities), might have been presented with profitable results. In view of Professor Sydnor's valuable study of *Slavery in Mississippi*, his neglect of the social and economic status of the Negro is rather strange. It must be acknowledged, however, that the author has been generally successful in dividing his attention among the various phases of Southern history. He has approached his subject with a measure of rich insight and keen understanding that gives constant evidence of his broad grasp of the field. The bibliographic essays, comprising thirty-five pages, provide useful signposts which designate the main highways of specialized research. As an admirable work of synthesis and reference, and as an illustration of mature scholarship, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism* is certain to achieve wide recognition.

LEONARD PRICE STAVISKY

New York State Teachers College  
Oswego, New York



*A Girl Grows Up.* By Ruth Fedder. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948. (Second Edition). Illustrations. Pp. 258. \$2.40.

Ruth Fedder, in her revision of *A Girl Grows Up*, analyzes and discusses the ever-present problems of the adolescent girl. The new edition has added helpful advice to the reader who faces the perplexities of a post-war world. This is a book for the teen-ager written in her language, devoid of psychological terms. Perhaps, too, the work may be recommended as reading material for the mother who fails to fathom the problems of her maturing daughter.

These informal chats begin with answers to the question "What does it mean 'growing up'?" and "How does a person act when she is emotionally mature?" One concludes that an adolescent must traverse a period of instability. Perhaps there is the well-adjusted girl who may confine her studies to chapters four to ten while other are guided through the first three sections to grow up, gain confidence, and act their age. Brought to light are the values of emotional maturity whereby the girl "gets on" with her parents, playmates, and friends until she is liked and in turn finds people interesting. The question of a harmonious family life is answered with the family council hour during which time a daughter may freely question, opine, and assert her need for independence.

This work faces squarely the problems of dating, petting, smoking, and drinking. The adolescent is not antagonized by an interdiction but logically shown the evils of overindulgence.

"The question of how to choose a job and how to secure one depends upon many factors." These factors are explained in the chapter entitled "Deciding About a Job" with the conclusion that first you find your interests, secondly seek advice on them, then try a part-time job, train yourself, and finally apply for the job.

Interests and hobbies for hours of leisure are recommended to adult and youth alike. Unemployment may be a remote warning to modern youth, until Miss Fedder leads him to realize the need for adjustment to the leisure time which unemployment permits. Then again in those hours after work one can develop talents, pursue interests, or participate in sports.

A final chapter, which is an addition to the earlier edition, presents a philosophy of life which may help the youth of today to find some security in a changing world.

The excellent bibliography, divided into chapter subjects, offers additional readings to the student who wishes to delve more deeply into the topics under discussion. One must mention too the numerous drawings by Roberta Pafin which cleverly emphasize important factors.

Here is a concise but effective work to be recommended by any guidance counselor or teacher of social studies.

BERTHA M. HIRZEL

Lansdale High School  
Lansdale, Pennsylvania

*Visualized American Government.* By Philip Dorf. New York: Oxford Book Company, 1947. Pp. 432. \$1.44.

In this revised edition of *Visualized American Government* we have everything that teachers of the secondary level have been looking for in an American government textbook. The author made a comprehensive and up-to-date survey of the spirit, mechanics and problems of American democracy.

The aims of the book which are well carried out are:

1. To give the student an analysis of the basic principles of our constitutional system.
2. To provide a clear view of the development, organization, and functioning of this system.
3. To make the student aware of his privileges and responsibilities as a citizen and future voter; and to survey a number of more pressing problems, external as well as domestic, which confront American democracy today.

The cartoons are used very effectively, the graphs and charts are accurate, the Essay and Discussion questions and Objective Test questions at the end of each chapter are excellent.

The Constitution has been removed from its usual place in a text and has been made the basis for Chapter VII, where a two-column arrangement has been made with the literal text on the left side of the page and explanatory notes on the right. This feature is rather un-

usual but most impressive for students of government of the high school level.

High school teachers will find this book of great practical value with pupils of the twelfth year.

*The Isle of Que.* By Elsie Singmaster. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1948. Pp. vii, 152. \$2.25.

Today an interestingly written story of wholesome family life in a picturesque and progressive agricultural region of America in the 1940's is worth-while reading for junior high school students. Elsie Singmaster's latest book, *The Isle of Que*, is that type. It is written for boys and girls twelve to fifteen years of age but will also interest, to some extent, older readers.

This book deals mainly with Tim Yoder, a fifteen-year-old, and his fear of floods. His sister Rosemary, slightly younger than Tim, and youngest in a family of eleven children, and their mother, also appear prominently in the story. It covers a period of approximately three years during World War II and includes many experiences typical of boys and girls in their teens, with Tim conquering his great fear.

The scene of the story is the Isle of Que, a large fertile island near the west bank of the Susquehanna River in central Pennsylvania. The island and the immediate vicinity are rich in history. However, to those who are seeking Pennsylvania history this book will be a disappointment.

Some of Tim Yoder's experiences are a bit like those of Tom Sawyer, yet he is almost continuously under the protection of a wise mother. Furthermore, the story is a modern one. The Yoders have a family automobile, a telephone, a radio, and an electric stove. Tim learns to operate a short wave transmitter and obtains his amateur license. In his exploration of islands in the Susquehanna he digs up arrowheads, an axe, a mortar for grinding corn, other Indian artifacts and an Indian skull.

A description of a Susquehanna River flood occupies the last third of the book. It tells how the Yoders survived the flood in their three-story house on the island, and how Tim, then approximately eighteen years old, saved the life of another resident of the island. This part of the book is likely to interest adults as well as junior high school students, particularly thou-

sands who have witnessed a major flood of the Susquehanna or other valleys.

This book is printed on good paper. The type is attractive and easy to read. The jacket shows a scene which approximates that of a flood over the Isle of Que. End papers, much like the jacket, are included in the book. Three other illustrations are also to be found but none have real significance.

If this book is assigned as outside reading by a junior high school history teacher, it might be well to describe briefly for the class the geography and history of the Susquehanna region and suggest to the student a short article concerning the region and another concerning American floods of the past two or three decades. It would also be well to point out the fact that Tim Yoder is an ordinary boy and does conquer his fear and that others, regardless of what fear they have, may conquer theirs by systematic effort.

HOMER T. ROSENBERGER

Washington, D. C.

*The Immigration Problem.* Compiled by Clarence A. Peters. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1948. The Reference Shelf, Vol. 19, No. 7. Pp. 254. \$1.25.

"In simplest terms, the reason why questions of United States immigration policy have recently come into the national limelight is because for the first time in seventeen years a lot of people want to migrate to America. . . ."

"They stand before us as brave men and women who are anxious to take their rightful place in the new world."

These are the first and last sentences of this excellent book which treats the problem exhaustively and not compendiously. The volume shows great research and critical analysis. It doesn't hesitate to give the pros and cons of issues, such as the lowering of the bars on immigration.

The language and style is discreet, and the handling of statistical facts is illuminating and done with dispatch. No student of world affairs or teachers in the field of social studies should forego this treatise.

Mr. Peters is very frank; he doesn't hesitate to criticize the immigration policy of the United States because: "It is throttled by red tape and bureaucratic rigidity."

The author dispels the usual bias that the uninformed cling to regarding immigration, such as increasing the unemployment of native born, and that the most undesirable seek to come to our shores. He emphasizes the many wonderful contributions that have been made by the millions who have come to us. American attitude toward this issue is one of social psychology rather than economics.

Mr. Peters was President Truman's representative in inspecting about thirty centers for displaced persons in Europe. His treatment of this phase of the European problem is very positive and sensible. World tensions can be reduced by proper handling of this situation.

*The Immigration Problem*, by Clarence A. Peters, is up-to-date, and reveals the attitude of the United Nations as it wrestles with the fate of thousands of Europeans. With the solving of this problem the ideal of "The Brotherhood of Man" will be nearer to reality. The reader will be amply repaid for his or her time spent in this account of a very important world problem.

JOSEPH CARPENTER

Harding Junior High School  
Philadelphia, Pa.

*Introduction to American Government*. By Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray. Ninth edition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948. Pp. 1, 1135. \$4.50.

This widely used textbook follows the same general structural pattern found in previous editions, even with respect to the large amount of space devoted to footnote materials. After an introductory chapter, the first part deals with the over-all picture of our constitutional and political system and the other three sections describe the national, state, and local governments respectively. However, the amount of space given to the various levels of government differs from the eighth edition. Approximately one fifth more material is offered on the national government than in the previous edition and this despite the deletion of the description of wartime activities.

The increasing emphasis on the national government is, of course, explained by its expanding functions and by the very necessary additions caused by the recent reorganization of

Congress and the pressing problem of executive-legislative relations. This material was included in the fifth edition of the *Essentials of American Government* by the same authors, published in 1947. Despite the author's efforts to keep down the size of the volume by reducing the space given to both state and local government, this latest revision has expanded the previous edition by more than one hundred pages.

The slight changes in chapter arrangements appear to be improvements. It seems logical to present a general view of the functions of Congress before considering the law-making process, and more continuity results from placing the chapter on the relations of Congress and the President between the description of these two branches rather than adding it afterward. There can also be little objection to including criticisms of the unit within the chapter on county government, nor to the inclusion of all three types of city government under one heading rather than two.

For a textbook that has been widely received in our colleges, one may still venture the criticism that the authors underestimate the importance of public opinion and pressure politics. To give at most some seven pages to these topics, when most writers assign at least one chapter, hardly seems justified in view of the significance of these forces at present. Believing that this text is used in many colleges in which no other course in political science is offered to most students, I would like to suggest that the introductory chapter might well include a brief description of the basic theories of government, particularly brief descriptions of the classification of states and their functions as well as the various views concerning the state's functions.

JAMES ANDES

State Teachers' College  
West Chester, Pennsylvania

*The Educational Philosophy and Practice of Art Museums in the United States*. By Theodore Lewis Low. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1948. Pp. vii, 243. \$2.75.

The art museum is no longer a place that smacks of the cloisters, where the study of pictures should be carried on as if by some ritualistic urge. Instead, it is a living thing—as



much alive to the broad cultural needs of the people within the orbit of its influence as is the secondary school or the place of higher education.

Moreover, the conduct of the art museum, like that of the well-functioning library, is a science, and today much thought is given to the means whereby the understanding and appreciation of art may be brought to the masses abundantly. While the goals in this direction have been slow of attainment in the past, this exhaustive study of museums by Dr. Low discloses that important trails in art service have been blazed. Thanks to the great upsurge of interest in art that is now manifest everywhere in the United States, these trails will be definitely charted.

In his book, Dr. Low gives an historical record of the nation's important museums, how they came into being, and how their management was carried out, often with little concern about their relation to the general public. Since there has been a noticeable transition from a passive existence to one of militant effectiveness, museum management indeed deserves an accolade.

According to Dr. Low, museum philosophy has changed rapidly during the last sixteen years. Greater stress has been placed on the educational function of the museum. Everyone will heartily approve of this, especially if by education is meant that every man, woman and child shall be given the means to the appreciation of art through contact, actual instruction in drawing, painting or sculpture, or by whatever methods can be devised.

Of what avail are the Kress, Mellon, and other famous art collections in the major cities, and equally important collections in smaller ones, if they are not integrated into the educational fabric of their locale?

To those communities which may have a museum undertaking in the offing, Low's book will be a godsend. Its serious study will serve to warn of pitfalls and blind alleys. At the same time it will light the way toward permanent benefits.

In addition to presenting the results of questionnaires sent to leading art museums, the book is rich in statistical data which will prove most instructive to those in the museum field.

Perhaps the most pertinent paragraph in the

book is a quotation from Morris Gray, one time president of the Metropolitan Museum, when he said: "Knowledge of art is common. But the love of art that brings real happiness and inspiration to the heart of man is rare. One is an intellectual interest. The other is emotion."

WALTER EMERSON BAUM

Director, Art Museum  
Allentown, Pennsylvania

*The Maritime History of Maine; Three Centuries of Shipbuilding & Seafaring.* By William Hutchinson Rowe. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1948. Pp. 333. \$6.00.

Mr. Rowe, the secretary of the Maine Historical Society for the past fifteen years, has dealt with small segments of his present subject in two earlier monographs—*Shipbuilding Days in Old North Yarmouth*, and *Shipbuilding Days in Casco Bay*. Now he has written of the entire range of Maine's maritime history, from Calais on the St. Croix to Kittery at the New Hampshire border, and from the early seventeenth century to the present day. The twenty-five hundred miles of Maine shoreline and tidewater have witnessed the changing fortunes of our nation's maritime development. Here were built the tiny ships that sailed along the coast and carried provisions and furs as far south as Virginia. From the hundreds of ways that sprinkled the coastline came larger ships for the West Indies trade, for the slave trade, and for the European commerce that was to enable seventeenth century New England to survive in a mercantilist economy. Privateers of the Revolution and the War of 1812, ships for the China trade, ships that knew the pirate flag, royal State of Maine Clippers, a host of such small craft as coasters and fishing boats—these were the vessels that were built of Maine timber by shipwrights who were also seamen, and these are all a part of the story that Mr. Rowe has told for the first time—that is, in its entirety.

The book contains excellent chapters on such topics as the Maine coastline, the winter fisheries of the seventeenth century, the role of Maine forests in the growth of the King's Navy. Separate chapters are devoted to the Down-Easters, the Great Schooners, and the State of Maine Clippers. The less romantic

## New and Timely Social Studies Books

### Your Personal Economics

#### —New Second Edition

Smith, Bahr and Wilhelms. A new consumer education textbook emphasizing right attitudes. Deals with all important consumer problems.

### Psychology for Living

Sorenson and Malm. Applies basic principles of psychology to high school students' needs and problems.

### Economics for Our Times

Smith. Interesting, understandable presentation. Applies principles to everyday problems.

### Your Life in the Country

Bathurst. A consumer education textbook dealing with the problems and activities of rural young people.

### A Boy Grows Up

#### —New Second Edition

McKown. Deals with boys' problems in today's world. Six new chapters. Practical suggestions and real-life illustrations.

### A Girl Grows Up

#### —New Second Edition

Fedder. Presents new material dealing with girls' problems today. An extensive revision.

## McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY, Inc.

330 West 42nd Street

New York 18, N. Y.

lumber, lime, ice, granite and fish industries of a later day also receive attention. There are discussions on colonial shipbuilding and on the shipyards of the Kennebec. The author has provided an excellent bibliography, adequate index, and appendix. The publishers have provided a large number of delightful and informing illustrations, and a format that is really beautiful. This is a volume that will be useful to classroom teachers along the Atlantic coast or to all who devote attention to our maritime history. It is also a good book to have, along with a pan of apples and a fireplace, on a stormy winter evening.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

State Teachers College  
Cortland, New York

*Child Growth Through Education.* By Gertrude Hildreth. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948. Pp. vii, 437. \$4.50.

This book is intended as "a basic text for teacher-training courses in the theory and method of elementary education" (p. v.). The

author's concept of unified learning develops those aspects of project teaching which emphasize the directing of elementary-school experience along lines that appeal to the child because they are meaningful to him. The extensive body of pedagogical tradition and textbook material which supports a different view, lends importance to the appearance of the book.

The first eight of the twenty-four short chapters consider unified learning from the standpoint of its psychological foundations, its relationship to school practice and learning experience, the planning and developing of experience for unified learning, and a program for unified teaching. The six following chapters orient the principles of unified learning on particular learning areas: social studies, science, literature and the arts, intercultural relationships, world citizenship and the development of skills. Scattered subsequent chapters relate to health, guidance and individual difference, as well as to school life, resources for living, community-centeredness of the school, parent-school relationships, and an evaluation of the unified program.

The author recognizes learning and growth as development, with perhaps more emphasis on biological than environmental influences in development, and emphasizes the importance of "learning readiness" for achievement in particular learning situations. The process of generalization is considered an important unifier in the learning process, and the backyard and other informal situations as important in learning resources. The author's plan provides special consideration for developing skills, and does not limit the drill concept to 3-R types of learning but extends it to such learning as is involved in finding and using reference materials or in judging work according to standards. Community-centeredness of the school facilitates unified learning.

Gertrude Hildreth weaves considerable experimental data into her discussion, and offers many helpful suggestions regarding sources and teaching units. The diction and vocabulary are easily within the reach of beginning college students. Few tabular or graphic presentations appear. However, each chapter except one is accompanied by from 8 to 20 study questions, and each chapter except one is accompanied by from 16 to 84 references.

The book might have been more coherent if not segmented into so many short chapters, and parts of the discussion might have been strengthened by omitting the traditional strawman technique—of attack on the "traditional" curriculum and method. Related to the last thought is the idea that the book might leave prospective teachers with the impression that it is not possible for junior high school pupils to become interested in or enjoy abstractions.

The book has definite possibilities for its intended use, and as such could be substantially supplemented through the extensive bibliography—or otherwise. If used as indicated, it would be superior to many books now used as texts in the field.

HAROLD H. PUNKE

U. S. Office of Education  
Washington, D. C.

*It Happened In Pennsylvania.* By Arthur D. Graeff. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1947. Pp. iv, 183. \$2.00.

Junior and senior high school boys and girls, regardless of whether they are from Pennsylvania, will like this book. It consists of thirty-one short stories each complete in itself and each dealing with Pennsylvania characters and events. To a certain extent the stories are chronologically arranged. The first deals with Swedish days on the Delaware in 1644, and the last with the Appalachian Trail in 1947.

Historians rightfully question the fictionalizing of history. Dr. Graeff's use of conversation between actual characters such as John Bartram and Benjamin Franklin, and between George Washington and Christopher Ludwick, introduces an element of fiction into this book. Some of these conversations seem a bit artificial, having the atmosphere of the drawing room rather than one typical of the frontier, the street, or the shop. Nevertheless, comparatively few who are competent in the field of history could have written more appropriate conversations for a book of this type.

In writing history, one has an obligation to convey ideas and shape certain attitudes as well as merely to record facts. Dr. Graeff fulfills this obligation effectively in a few of his stories. In number 22, entitled "Stone Coal," the point is made, and without preaching, that precautions must be taken with campfires in the woods so as to avoid forest fires. In the story of the Homestead Strike of 1892 (number 27), it is shown that both owners and workers lose in their disputes with each other when their attitude becomes repulsive to the public.

This book bears a striking resemblance to the one entitled *Stories of Pennsylvania, or School Reading From Pennsylvania History*, (300 pp.), written by Joseph S. Walton and Martin G. Brumbaugh, and published by the American Book Company in 1897.

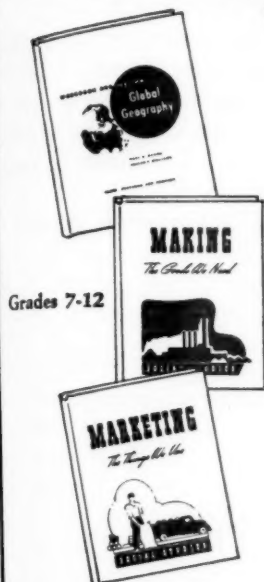
If junior and senior high school teachers will point out very clearly to their students that this book, *It Happened In Pennsylvania*, represents the spirit of the historical events with which it deals rather than confining itself to precise historical information, the book can be used to advantage in secondary schools.

HOMER T. ROSENBERGER

Washington, D. C.



## RESOURCE MATERIAL FOR DEVELOPING WORLD GEOGRAPHIC-ECONOMIC UNDERSTANDINGS



The Workbook-Text on GLOBAL GEOGRAPHY, by Hanna and Williams, with die-cut Supplementaries for making globes and maps. A basic course in world geography based on first-hand experiences with the Supplementaries and the hemisphere work maps in the workbook itself.

MAKING THE GOODS WE NEED, by Hanna, Quillen, and Sears. The story of production: How man learned to use machines and power in factories for developing natural resources to meet basic human needs. Specific examples include processing food, making clothes, building houses.

MARKETING THE THINGS WE USE, by Hanna and Krug. The story of distribution: The functions of transportation, communication, storage, advertising, and credit in getting goods through the producer-wholesaler-retailer-consumer cycle.

*Sample-page booklets free on request*

### SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY

Chicago 11

Atlanta 3

Dallas 1

Pasadena 2

San Francisco 5

New York 10

## Exploring Business Is Everybody's Business

### EXPLORATORY COURSE in BUSINESS TRAINING

by Dr. J. Frank Dame  
University of Florida  
and Arthur S. Patrick  
University of Maryland

This text is a "text-workbook" for a one-semester course of exploration in business. It not only provides information and guidance but also teaches the pupil how to do things, the business way. It gives experience.

Exploratory Course in Business Training is divided into three parts, to explore the three principal areas of business careers:

1. **Selling.** There are 22 lessons about selling careers and the selling process, with exercises and accurate consumer information.
2. **Record Keeping.** There are 22 lessons about record keeping, bookkeeping, and accounting, with lessons that teach the students how to keep records on their personal budgets and to perform other personal-record-keeping activities.
3. **Shorthand,** the key to thousands of stenographic and secretarial careers, is not talked about but is taught. In the 22 lessons in this part, the student learns enough shorthand to write the correct shorthand outline for any word in the English language. A key is provided to each of the plates on which instruction is based.

This 155-page book lists at \$1.40. Already adopted in hundreds of high schools and junior high schools, it does an effective job of career-telling without any attempt at career-selling. Investigate this book for your school: write our nearest office for an evaluation copy.

You will find *Exploratory Course in Business Training* is the guidance text you need.

### THE GREGG PUBLISHING COMPANY

Business Education Division,  
McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

- New York 16.....270 Madison Avenue
- Chicago 3.....37 South Wabash Avenue
- San Francisco 3.....931 Howard Street
- Boston 16.....Statler Building
- Dallas 1.....707 Browder Street
- Toronto 5.....30 Bloor Street, West
- London W.C. 1.....51 Russell Square

*American Junior Colleges*. Edited by Jesse P. Bogue. Washington: American Council on Education. Pp. ix, 537. \$6.50.

Education beyond the high school is one of the most pressing problems facing young people and their parents today. Unlike the students of a few years ago, high school graduates can no longer feel secure as long as their marks are high. Harvard, Yale, Sarah Lawrence, Cornell, and other big name colleges have room for only so many students. Thus, through no fault of their own, capable boys and girls may find the college of their choice closed to them. Although more young people are going to college than ever before, many are looking for a method of continuing their education without spending four years in college. Others wish to spend a year or two in a smaller, perhaps more informal, institution before entering a university.

A solution to this dilemma facing many high school graduates may lie in providing greater understanding and appreciation of the values of the junior college. Boys and girls need to become cognizant of the excellent courses offered by many small, little known institutions. They should be able to approach the critical period of entrance into post-high-school institutions with real understanding of the opportunities as well as the difficulties which they face.

Most parents and high school pupils are poorly equipped to attack this problem. Only a small number of counselors and even fewer teachers can provide accurate, up-to-date information on junior colleges, as the whole development is comparatively new. Thus the American Council on Education's second, or 1948 edition of *American Junior Colleges* becomes a vital reference book. It is divided into two sections. Part I deals with the various types of junior colleges, the development of the junior college movement, its present status, trends in the field, accreditation, standards and practices.

In Part II, pertinent information is given on 564 accredited institutions. The descriptive data includes a brief history of each school. Requirements for entrance, the fields of instruction, the tuition and fees, housing, student aid, number of teachers on the staff, enrollment, description of the library facilities and of the buildings and grounds are included. Institutions are classified as junior colleges for

men, for women, for coeducation, for Negroes, for foreign students, and for veterans, as well as by length of their courses.

A general index, an institutional index, and a chart showing the curricula offered by junior colleges in 1946-1947 complete the book. Alert high school librarians, teachers of social studies and counselors will see that this book is made available to their students.

MARIAN R. BROWN

Cornell University  
Ithaca, New York

*Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*.

By F. Stuart Chapin. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. 206. \$3.00.

Dr. Chapin has for many years been interested in the possibility of adapting the experimental method of physical science to the study of the problems of human relations. His latest work, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*, is an important contribution to this field. This small volume consists of nine experimental studies, some having been conducted by students while working under his direction.

For the first time in a single volume, we are presented with experimental studies conducted under controlled conditions which report the observation of human relations in the natural community situation. The paucity of such research adds to the interest and importance of this new study.

In attempting to answer such questions as whether or not poor housing is a cause *per se* of juvenile delinquency, we encounter the challenge of properly employing experimental designs as a method of sociological research. The three main types of experimental design applied to the study of problems in the natural community situation are: (1) the cross sectional design, (2) a projected design of before and after, and (3) an *ex post facto* design.

Dr. Chapin presents some of the difficulties confronted in employing the various methods and offers interesting appraisals of the validity of the results obtained. Also included are excellent tables and graphs as well as three interesting chapters: "Natural Social Experiments by Trial and Error," "Sociometric Scales Available for Control and the Measurement of Efforts," and "Some Fundamental Problems

# CONTEMPORARY UNITED STATES

## *in its World Setting*

New Colored Wall Maps

Each 44 x 38 Inches

*Twelve Maps from the New Series "OUR AMERICA"*  
*Edited by Edgar B. Wesley, Ph.D., University of Minnesota*

*Makes available for the first time maps dealing with current history, bringing both United States history, our international relations and world history up to date.*

The 12 maps in the series:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| WA25 United States Today                     | WA31 Farming and Grazing                      |
| WA26 Overseas America, 1867-1940             | WA32 Manufacturing and Minerals               |
| WA27 European Area in World War I, 1914-1918 | WA33 European Area in World War II, 1939-1945 |
| WA28 The Growth of Population, 1790-1940     | WA34 Pacific Area in World War II, 1941-1945  |
| WA29 Transportation Systems                  | WA35 Air Age World                            |
| WA30 Land Use and Conservation               | WA36 World Today                              |

For further information send for D-G Catalog No. 49

DENOYER-GEPPERT COMPANY, 5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago 40

## *Lippincott texts*

*for your courses in social studies . . .*

### *Living in the Social World—Revised*

by QUINN and REPKE

An up-to-date, revised edition of this widely popular text for high school sociology and social problems courses. **LIVING IN THE SOCIAL WORLD—Revised** offers a well-rounded course in social principles and present-day social institutions and social problems.

### *Your Life in a Democracy*

by BROWN

For the community civics, orientation, or guidance course, **YOUR LIFE IN A DEMOCRACY** meets the need for a single basal text which emphasizes the relation of personal efficiency to more effective community life.

Examination copies furnished upon request

*J. B. Lippincott Company*

Chicago

Philadelphia

New York

Atlanta

Dallas



and Limitations to Study by Experimental Designs."

Some teachers and research workers may not prefer to term the type of investigation used in some of the studies as experiments, but instead as comparisons made on a statistical basis with matched groups. As for the results obtained, it is not illogical to assume that, since they are sufficiently favorable and objective, a certain amount of success can be expected in the future provided these experiments are properly repeated.

After completing the book, the reader will be even more aware of the difficulties being encountered in experimentation because of the complexities of social action and will undoubtedly feel that this work constitutes a significant step in dealing with some of these complexities.

This volume is of value not only to research workers, students and teachers of methodology, but provides a valuable working manual for further research in the field of human relations.

EDWARD M. BEARD

University of Miami  
Coral Gables, Florida

#### CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

*Government and Politics Abroad.* Edited by Joseph S. Roucek with the collaboration of Floyd A. Cave, Wilbert L. Hindman, Glen E. Hoover, 2nd and Thorsten V. Kalijarvi. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1948. Pp. xl, 585. \$4.00.

A comparative study of governments of thirty three countries.

*The Hickory Stick.* By Virgil Scott. New York: Morrow and Company, 1948. Pp. 750. \$3.95.

Another novel about the school-teaching profession, of interest to all teachers.

*The Story of our Land and People.* By Glenn W. Moon. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948. Pp. 628. \$2.16.

The revised edition is broader in scope and new material on world affairs has been added.

*The World, Its Lands and Its People.* By Zoe A. Thralls. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948. Pp. 496. \$3.40.

An up-to-date geography text which achieves all the objectives the author has sought.

*The Triumph of Freedom, 1775-1783.* By John C. Miller. Boston, Massachusetts: Atlantic-Little, Brown and Company, 1948. Pp. xxx, 688. \$6.50.

A history of the American Revolution and its accompanying course of events.

*Everyday Problems of American Democracy.* By John T. Greenan. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948. Pp. xxvii, 616. \$2.96.

In this revised edition, new and timely material has been added on national and international problems.

*The American Constitution: Origins and Developments.* By Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1948. Pp. xxix, 940. \$7.50.

A new book covering the development of the American Constitution from the time of its origin to the present.

*British Rule in Palestine.* By Bernard Joseph. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948. Pp. xiv, 275. Cloth \$3.75; paper \$3.25. A timely study of Jewish Jerusalem.

*A Survey of American Government.* By Harold Zink. Columbus, Ohio: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. xxxviii, 809. \$4.75.

The survey was prepared for readers who do not care to have a full length study of the subject.

*The Far Distant Bugle.* By Loring MacKaye. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1948. Pp. xxxvi, 264. \$2.50.

A western story depicting the difficulty of keeping open the route between the West and East.

*Lincoln's Herndon.* By David Donald. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948. Pp. xxi, 391. \$5.00.

A biography that is well written and interesting reading.